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Correction

Owing to a regrettable printing error on the plates the obverse of no. 9 on Plate VII, "The 'Wolf' Sceattas", has got laterally reversed. The bust should face to the right.

CELTIC COINS FROM THE ROMANO-BRITISH TEMPLE AT HARLOW

By D. F. ALLEN

PART II (PLATES V-VI)

1. The Romano-British Temple at Harlow has proved to be one of the outstanding sites for the discovery of Celtic coins in Britain. The excavations, which began in 1962, are now after six seasons almost at an end. Including the coins on which I reported in *BNJ* XXXIII (1964) 1-6, they have produced 194 Celtic coins, of which 14 are of gold or plated gold, 5 of silver or plated silver and the balance of bronze. To the excavation coins may be added 1 silver and 11 bronze coins, previously recorded as found at Harlow, and one stray gold coin (possibly two) which seem likely to be a by-product of the excavations. No other excavated site in Britain has produced a comparable tally of gold coins and only Colchester has produced a larger variety of bronze coins. The actual numbers found at Hengistbury were greater, but they were dominated by an enormous scattered hoard.

I had originally intended this note to complete the record of the excavation finds, since work on the site was expected to finish in 1966. The list at the end and the plate were prepared accordingly. Plans, however, were changed after I had done the work and the 1967 season has proved particularly productive. I have, therefore, had to decide whether to defer the note for another year or more, until the excavations are finally ended, or to revise it to form another interim report. I have decided on the latter course because there is now enough material to take stock of the whole and draw some conclusions. A concluding note will follow illustrating the 1967 coins and any found in 1968, which will also pick up any loose ends.¹

The following table shows how the total of 194 excavation and 13 other coins is made up:

TABLE I

<i>Class</i>	<i>Excavation</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>A</i> Uninscribed	13	1	14	6.8
<i>R</i> Uninscribed	2	—	2	2.4
<i>Æ</i> Uninscribed	2	1	3	
Dubnovellaunos <i>Æ</i>	1	—	1	.5
Tasciovanus Group				
<i>R</i>	—	1	1	16.0
<i>Æ</i>	30	3	33	
Andoco <i>R</i>	1	—	1	.5
Cunobelinus				
<i>A</i>	1	—	1	.5
<i>R</i>	1	—	1	.5
<i>Æ</i>	141	7	148	71.8
Coritani <i>R</i>	1	—	1	.5
Durotriges <i>Æ</i>	1	—	1	.5
TOTAL	194	13	207	100

2. The only addition I need make to what I have previously said on the uninscribed gold coins from Harlow relates to the quarter-staters of Whaddon Chase type. No. 118 in the list and on the plate is a coin recently acquired by Mr. Henry Mossop as having been found in the vicinity of the temple. A very similar coin is in a private German collection and was acquired in England not long ago, without any record of provenance. Both are good specimens of the type illustrated as no. 8 in my last report. They make it certain that there exists a class of quarter-staters corresponding precisely with the Whaddon Chase type, British LA.

3. Of the 5 uninscribed silver and bronze coins from Harlow, 3 are of a single bronze type, Mack 273-4, while one of the silver coins is closely related. I have placed these coins up to now in the miscellaneous group, British LX. It begins to look as if these particular coins within the group should be treated as the uninscribed precursors of the coinage of Tasciovanus and of Verulamium. Perhaps it was Tasciovanus' achievement to bring together in one kingdom the various tribal units represented by the different coinages of British LX.

4. The 33 coins found at Harlow belonging to the group associated with the names of Tasciovanus and the Verulamium mint provide an opportunity to review a somewhat complicated story. Several coin inscriptions are involved and their relationship is not well understood. There are 22 recorded types of bronze coins in the group, of which 16 are represented at Harlow. The partition of the bronze types between legends or combinations of legends is shown in the following table:

TABLE II

<i>Mack Type</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Excavation</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Notes</i>
178	TASCIAVA/TAS	1	—	(Double-denomination)
176	TASCIO/TASCIO	3	—	
175	—/TASCI	3	—	Cf. 172-4 for obv.
171	TAS/VER	1	—	—
170	TASC/VER OF VIR	1	—	—
[167]	VIR(?) /TASC	—	—	Cf. 182; obv. legend uncertain.
172	VERLAMIO/ —	1	1	Cf. 173-5 for obv.
179	—/VIR	2	—	—
[180]	(?)/VIR	—	—	Possibly an obv. legend.
[182]	VER/ —	—	—	(Half-denomination) Cf. 167.
[183]	—/VER	—	—	(Half-denomination)
168/9	DIA/VIR OF VIR,			
	VIRL/VIR OF VIRL/TAS	1	—	Harlow coin reads VIRL/TAS.
177	TASCOV/VIR, WV(lig.)(?)/			
	VIR OF DI/VIR	4	—	Obv. legend sometimes meaningless; all legends found at Harlow.
192	TASC DIAS/VER	4	—	Associated R reading DIAS/VIR, 188, also found at Harlow.
[173]	—/SEP	—	—	Presumably the rev. reads SEGO, cf. 196.
190	RVII/RVII OF VIR/RVEI	2	1	Cf. 168/9.
189	RVII/ —	2	—	—
191	RVIIIS/ —	1	—	—
193	—/RVII	1	—	(Half-denomination)
[170A]	TAS ANDO/(?)	—	—	Cf. 192 for obv. Possibly no rev. legend.
174	No legend	2	1	Cf. 172-3, 175 for obv.
181	No legend	1	—	(Half-denomination) Cf. 173 for rev.
TOTAL		30	3	

It will be seen that only a minority of the coins found at Harlow give the name of Tasciovanus, while a substantial majority record the mint, Verulamium. There are as many coins with the names, not yet understood, of DIAS and RVES as of Tasciovanus himself. All this requires some explanation.

The simple cases are those where the coins merely give the name of Tasciovanus alone or in combination with the mint name, Verulamium. At Harlow there were 7 with the ruler's name alone and 2 with it in this combination. Almost equally simple are those cases where the mint name stands alone; of these Harlow has produced 4 examples. Presumably these coins were struck at Verulamium after Tasciovanus had ceased to rule. With them we may put the few coins of the group which are uninscribed, of which 3 have come from Harlow.

There are, however, four legends, used alone or in combination, where the position is much less straightforward. In the first place, there are coins which combine the mint signature of Verulamium with the legends DIAS and TASC. In two bronze types these inscriptions are used in several paired combinations, in another TASC and DIAS occur behind and in front of the head respectively on the same dies, while in the corresponding silver type DIAS and VIR occur on opposite sides and TASC is omitted. No corresponding gold type is known. The presence of the Verulamium signature on the coins rules out that DIAS could be a mint signature. *Diasulos* is a name on Gaulish silver coins. The strong probability is, therefore, that DIAS are the opening letters of a personal name, standing in some relationship to Tasciovanus.

This is borne out by a fact, not as yet well known, that there is another bronze type of Tasciovanus with a similar double legend on the obverse (Pl. VI A) (I recorded the fact in my *Origins* paper, p. 222, but without working out the implications.) On this type the obverse legend is TAS ANDO; it is not clear whether or not there is a reverse legend. The only known specimen of this coin was found near Gravesend and is reproduced by Mack in his second edition but well below original size. The head on the obverse much resembles the TASC DIAS type. The Gravesend coin at once establishes a relationship between the coins of Tasciovanus and the in many ways similar coins of Andoco in gold, silver and bronze. It has always been clear that typologically the coins of Andoco depended on those of Tasciovanus. We now have legend evidence to confirm the connection.

We also have what may prove to be comparable evidence in regard to the gold and silver coins with the legends TASCIO and SEGO. The two inscriptions appear on obverse and reverse of the stater, the TASCIO legend alone on the corresponding quarter-stater, the SEGO legend alone on the silver. There is a bronze coin from Canterbury of a type previously considered uninscribed which appears to have the beginning of the legend SEGO on the reverse (Pl. VI B). (Again I recorded the fact on the same page of my *Origins* paper, without comment.) This requires confirmation from a better specimen, but it suggests that once again we may have a 'full house' of SEGO coins. We have no coins which actually link the mint name of Verulamium with the name SEGO, but the reverse of the SEGO silver coin has a horseman which is indistinguishable from the horseman on some silver coins with a Verulamium legend; a die link could well exist, though I have not so far noted one.

From all this it seems certain that in two series, and probably in three, Tasciovanus was issuing coins from Verulamium which link his name with another person's, Dias . . . , Andoco . . . or Segio We have no direct clue as to what the nature of the association was. On some of the coins of Cunobelinus and Epaticcus the legend clearly tells us that they were sons of Tasciovanus; but there are many more which use the two names in juxtaposition without explaining the relationship. We do not, therefore, need to exclude the possibility that Dias . . . ,

Andoco . . . and Sego . . . were other and less notable sons of Tasciovanus. But that is not the only possible form of association, as many Gaulish coins with two names on them show.

Finally there is a fourth legend to be considered. These are the bronze coins with the legend RVES; in one instance this is combined with a mint signature, VIR; at least I think this the correct interpretation of the inscription, although it would be possible to argue that it should be read as the first three letters of RVES, differently arranged around the circumference of the coin. The general resemblance to coins of Tasciovanus or Dias . . . is such that they can only belong to the same phase of the coinage; but so far, no coin of RVES has been found with a Tasciovanus legend, nor is there any direct typological link. There are no gold or silver coins which can be directly linked with RVES. The probability is that Rues . . . is a fourth personal name in the series of associates with Tasciovanus, but this is necessarily conjectural.²

There seem to be two alternative explanations available. One is that, as on Roman coins in the early Empire, Tasciovanus did not exclude from recognition on his coinage other contemporary chieftains at Verulamium, whether sons, relatives or colleagues. The coins could then all be contemporary with Tasciovanus himself. Another alternative might be that some or all of the names are of chieftains who ruled at Verulamium in succession to Tasciovanus, or in his absence, before Cunobelinus had consolidated his power in the west. At present it is not possible to distinguish different distributions for the four legends, distinct from that of coins of Tasciovanus himself; the presence of a silver coin of Andoco at Harlow is important in this context. While far from proved, my present inclination is to see in the plethora of associated legends a situation of growing chaos and rivalry at Verulamium at the end of Tasciovanus' reign and afterwards, until order was restored by Cunobelinus.

It is at least possible that this phase is associated with Tasciovanus' activities at Camulodunum, attested by the mint signature of a few rare gold coins, which is not yet well understood. So far there are no silver or bronze coins to go with the gold.

5. Probably the earliest phase of the Harlow coins which we should associate with Camulodunum or at least with Essex is the single bronze coin, Mack 277. Although it is exceptional for the legend to be visible, it is now known that coins of this type (or some of them) bear the legend DV, presumably for Dubnovellaunos, whose Essex gold coins are recalled by the reverse type. It is clear that Dubnovellaunos' reign preceded Cunobelinus' in Essex and that he was, in broad terms, the contemporary of Tasciovanus.

6. In comparison with Tasciovanus, the coinage of Cunobelinus, which comprises two thirds of the Harlow finds, presents few problems. The tentative conclusions I formed on the first two seasons' finds have been amply reinforced by the subsequent finds. It now seems indisputable that Cunobelinus' coins with the Tasciovanus legends belong to the west, while those with the Camulodunum legends belong to the east and south. There is no reason to doubt that the coins with Tasciovanus legends were minted at Verulamium and it is probable that the debris of coin-moulds so widely scattered over that site represent the Roman destruction of Cunobelinus' mint.

The 150 Harlow coins of Cunobelinus begin with plated forgeries of a quarter-stater with the normal Camulodunum legend and a silver coin with the Tasciovanus legend. Of the 148 bronze coins, 22 are of early Cunobelinus types and 126 of developed or classical types. Of the early type coins only 6 have Camulodunum legends, while of the developed types the number is only 23. In other words, three-quarters of the Cunobelinus' coins from Harlow have Tasciovanus legends and must have been minted at Verulamium. This will be more readily presentable in the form of a table:

TABLE III

Early Types—Bronze

CUNOBELINUS' NAME ALONE			WITH CAMULODUNUM LEGEND			WITH TASCIOVANUS LEGEND		
Type	Excav.	Other	Type	Excav.	Other	Type	Excav.	Other
[223]	—	—						
[227]	—	—						
[232]	—	—	[224]	—	—			
[261]	—	—	[233]	—	—			
			229	1	1			
			231	2	—	245	5	—
222A	1	—	222	1	—			
			230	1	—	221	10	—
TOTAL	1	—	—	5	1	—	15	—

[247 omitted because reverse is illegible.]

Developed Types—Bronze

WITH CAMULODUNUM LEGEND			WITH TASCIOVANUS LEGEND		
Type	Excav.	Other	Type	Excav.	Other
225	1	—	242	11	1
250	4	—	243	12	1
251	1	—	244	21	1
252	3	—	246	5	—
253	9	1	248	24	1
260	4	—	249	25	1
TOTAL	22	1	—	98	5

This table shows the classification of bronze coins to which the Harlow finds, taken with those of Camulodunum and Verulamium, point. The close parallel between the six developed types at each mint is particularly striking. A similar classification can be made of the silver coins. It is possible that in the latter part of his reign Cunobelinus was following the Roman practice of issuing more than one type of coin at the same time from each mint. If not, there is no clue yet as to the order in which the six types were issued at each mint.

In the earlier phase, when in style the coins are barely distinguishable from those of Tasciovanus, I do not know how one should regard those which bear the name of Cunobelinus alone; but their total absence from Harlow makes it virtually certain that they were not products of the Verulamium mint. It would seem that there was a fairly extensive coinage of Cunobelinus at Camulodunum before he started coining at Verulamium. This is consistent with the conclusions reached about the coins of Tasciovanus' associates at Verulamium. There is an interaction between the coinages of the two places which is only now beginning to come to light.

7. The 1967 season for the first time brought to light at Harlow coins from the outlying tribes of Britain. The first is a relatively early unscripted silver coin of the Coritani, the other a struck bronze coin of the Durotriges of a type which was certainly circulating in Claudian contexts.

8. There is much to be said for not writing on any subject until one can say all that one has to say. There is much also to be said for publishing material as it comes to light, with the reflections it prompts at the time. In regard to the Harlow material I have chosen the latter

course, and I hope I may be forgiven for revealing in successive articles the evolution of my thinking. None of this would have been possible without the kind co-operation of Dr. N. E. France and Miss B. Gobel of the West Essex Archaeological Group, who have put the coins at my disposal, nor the arrangements for photography, weighing and preservation kindly made by Professor S. S. Frere.

LIST OF COINS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS, 1965-1966

(g = grams)

(See Plates V and VI, 44-118)

BRONZE, UNINSCRIBED

British LX 22

44-45 Mack 274, 1.69, 1.51 g.

BRONZE, INSCRIBED

Tasciovanus-Verulamium Group

46. Mack 178, 5.42 g. TASCIAVA/TAS (Double denomination).

47-48. Mack 176, 1.73, 2.34 g. TASCIO/TASCIO.

49. Mack 171, 2.43 g. TAS/VER.

50. Mack 190, 1.83 g. RVII/RVII.

51. Mack 189, 2.44 g. RVII/.

52-55. Mack 192, 1.89, 1.42, 1.60, 1.60 g. TASC DIAS/VER.

56-57. Mack 179, 2.60, 2.46 g. /VIR.

58. Mack 174, 2.44 g. Probably no legend.

SILVER, INSCRIBED

Andoco, Silver Type

59. Mack 199, 1.30 g. /ANDOC.

GOLD, INSCRIBED

Cunobelinus, Quarter Stater

60. Mack 211, 1.08 g. CAM/CVN.

SILVER, INSCRIBED

Cunobelinus, Silver Piece

61. Mack 237, CVNO/TASCIO.

BRONZE, INSCRIBED

Cunobelinus—Early Types with Tasciovanus Legend

62-66. Mack 221, 2.45, 2.74, 2.05, 2.54, 2.47 g. CVNOBELINI/TASC.

67-68. Mack 245, 1.76, 1.40 g. CVNOBII/TASC-F(FIL).

Cunobelinus—Developed Types with Tasciovanus Legend

69-71. Mack 242, 2.47, 2.55, 2.08 g. CVNOBELINI/TASCIOVANI-F

72-75. Mack 243, 2.43, 2.46, 2.71, 2.06 g. CVNOBELINUS/TASCIOVANI F.

76-78. Mack 246, 2.53, 2.39, 2.60 g. CVNOBELINUS REX/TASC

79-88. Mack 244, 2.49, 2.52, 2.60, 2.33, 2.39, 2.25, 2.29, 2.39, 2.58, 1.75 g. CVNOB/TASCIOVANTIS.

89-96. Mack 248, 2.43, 2.87, 2.10, 2.96, 2.36, 1.74, 2.29, 2.21 g. CVNOBELINI/TASCIO.

97-106. Mack 249, 3.46, 2.75, 2.51, 2.23, 2.06, 2.61, 2.72, 2.44, 2.18, 2.25 g. CVNO/TASCI

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Camulodunum Legend

107. Mack 231, 2.40 g. CAMV/CVNO.

108. Mack 225, 2.48 g. CVN/CAMV.

- 109-111. Mack 250, 2.38, 2.09, 2.40 g. CVNO/CAMV.
 112. Mack 252, 2.31 g. CVNO/CAMV.
 113-115. Mack 253, 2.52, 2.43, 2.23 g. CVNO/CAM.
 116-117. Mack 260, 2.27, 1.67 g. CVNO/CAM.

COIN FOUND IN NEIGHBOURHOOD OF EXCAVATIONS.

Quarter-Stater, British LA, Whaddon Chase Type

118. Compare *BNJ XXXIII* (1964) pl. V, 8. 20 grains.

COINS FOR COMPARISON (See Plate VI, A-B)

Tasciovanus—Andoco:—Bronze

- A. Mack 170a. 1.57 g. TAS ANDO/ (from Gravesend).

Tasciovanus-Sego:—Bronze

- B. Mack 173, 0.91 g. /SEG—(?) (from Canterbury).

SUMMARY LIST OF COINS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS, 1967

BRONZE

Tasciovanus-Verulamium Group

Tasciovanus, etc.:	Mack 170, 175 (2), 176, 177 (3).	
Verlamio:	Mack 172.	
Rues, etc.:	Mack 191, 193 (half-denomination).	
No legend:	Mack 174, 181 (half-denomination).	12

Cunobelinus-Verulamium Types with Tasciovanus Legend

Early:	Mack 221 (4), 245 (3).	
Developed:	Mack 242 (5), 243 (6), 244 (8), 246 (2), 248 (12), 249 (11).	51

Cunobelinus-Camulodunum Types

Early:	Mack 222, 230, 231.	
Developed:	Mack 250, 252 (2), 253 (5).	11

Dubnovellaunos—Essex Type

Mack 277.	1
-----------	---

Durotriges—Struck Bronze Stater

Mack 318.	1
-----------	---

SILVER

Coritani—Silver Denomination

Mack 453.	1
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TOTAL 77

¹The excavations at Harlow were concluded in the summer of 1968. 12 more bronze coins were found, 4 of the Tasciovanus group, 8 of Cunobelinus. The Tasciovanus coins are Mack 175, 179, 182 and 183A. The half-denomination, Mack 182, is new to the site, as is the Mack 183A, only the second specimen known. The latter confirms the grazing horse and the legend VER. The Cunobelinus coins are: with Tasciovanus legend, Mack 242 (3), 244 (2) and 245; with Camulodunum legend, Mack 231

and 252. These are, of course, not allowed for in the totals.

²Ten coins of the type of Mack 190 were found in 1967 in a burial at Prae Wood, Verulamium, all or almost all from different dies. These seem to establish the legend on both sides of most examples as RVII. While the find spot confirms the Verulamium association, the new coins cast doubt on the Verulamium mint signature.





THREE ANCIENT BRITISH NOTES

By D. F. ALLEN

A New Coin from Cunetio

A new coin of some interest was picked up at Black Field, Mildenhall, Wilts., on the site of the Roman town of Cunetio, by Peregrine Larington, a student at Marlborough College. He has now kindly deposited it at the Devizes Museum.



FIG. 1 (x2)

This piece is, as will be seen from Fig. 1, obviously a rendering of the Philippus types, so familiar on gold staters of Belgic Gaul and Britain, but it is a rendering with a difference. In the first place it is struck in high relief in copper or bronze; there is no trace of gilding on the surface, nor does it look like the core of a plated forgery which has lost its plating. I think, therefore, that, like the common bronze coins of the Durotriges, it was struck originally in bronze as a bronze coin. Its weight is 49.67 grains (3.219 grams).

This impression is confirmed by the ultra-simplification of the traditional pattern. The kind of coin from which the types are derived is Mack 53, British I, but many of the traditional features on both sides are lacking or simplified. I think, therefore, that we probably have a British bronze coin bearing much the same relationship to Mack 53 as, let us say, Mack 318 does to Mack 28. There are continental parallels; Mack 27, for instance, is regularly found at Théroutanne in bronze, in circumstances which clearly indicate that the bronze was not merely the core of a plated forgery.

While the new coin stands alone in Britain, one can do no more than record it. The gold prototypes, such as Mack 53, belong well north of Cunetio, but the Celtic coins hitherto found at Cunetio have, in the main, been of the Dobunni.

A New Uninscribed Silver Type

I have recently concluded that two silver coins which have long been in the Ashmolean and Hunterian Collections as Gaulish coins are probably of British origin. In neither case is the find-spot known, but the weight and the treatment both point to Britain. I am not aware of similar coins in any continental collections.

Both coins have on the obverse a head facing right with a prominent ear and coils of hair behind. In the Ashmolean example (Fig. 2) there are also three, as it were, cones of hair above the forehead, which do not seem to take the same form on the Hunterian coin (Fig. 3).



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



(x2)



On the reverse both coins have a maned horse prancing right with a globular ornament below; the most characteristic feature, however, is the prancing beast with bent-back head above the horse's back, which forms the main subsidiary design. On the Ashmolean example this is set in the same direction as the horse; on the Hunterian coin it is upside down. The two coins, though close, are thus not identical.

The Ashmolean coin weighs 18.83 grains (1.22 grams), while the Hunterian coin weighs 20.4 grains (1.32 grams). This is about the normal weight for a British silver coin.

If I am right in regarding these coins as British, then they presumably belong to the earliest phase of the introduction of silver in the South-East. I have discussed this phase on pp. 135-6 of my paper on the Origins of British Coinage, and have there suggested that it corresponds in general with the gold coinage I have grouped under the heading of British L. There are several other silver types with head and horse which belong to the same phase.

Perhaps the closest parallel is to be found in another coin in Ashmolean Museum which I mentioned in the same paper as being of an unpublished type. Further study has shown this not to be correct; it is of the same type as Mack 438, but the obverse shows the right hand side of the die. It weighs 20.1 grains (1.30 grams). Mack 438 is connected with the gold quarter stater Mack 79, and this in turn may be compared with the new pair of silver coins I am describing.

Time and excavation will no doubt produce a clearer picture of the early silver phase. Meanwhile the more of such material that can be brought together the better.

A New Minim of Verica

In a recent number of the *Journal* (BNJ XXXIV (1965), 4-7) I described a silver minim of Tincommius which had been found by Mr. John Collis in 1965 during his excavation of the Romano-British site at Owslebury, near Winchester.* During the 1966 season he has found another silver minim, this time of Verica, stratified in a late pre-Conquest layer.

The new coin is of a type not previously recorded. The obverse has a pattern composed of a ring-and-dot in the centre with four trefoils-of-pellets arranged around to form a cruciform

* Incorrectly spelt as Ouslebury in the earlier note.

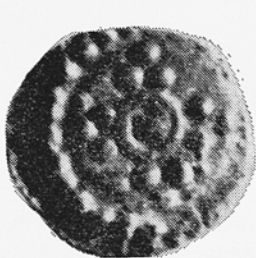


FIG. 4 (x4)



FIG. 5 (x2)

pattern within a beaded circle. The reverse has a lion with erect tail prancing right; the position of the tail is characteristic of Celtic lions. Above the lion are the letters VER, though most of the R is off the flan. Below the lion is a trefoil of pellets, flanked by traces of letters. I think these are an R to the left and an X to the right, the E of REX being off the flan below the trefoil. I cannot make the traces into the other legend which might be expected, C.F.

It is plain that the minim is the quarter piece corresponding to the larger silver coin of Verica, Mack 123. This too has a pattern on the obverse round a central ring-and-dot and a lion on the reverse. The legend VERICA COMMI F REX may be compared with the probable VER REX of the minim.

The weight is 6.17 grains (0.40 grams), normal for a minim of this character. The silver is flecked with green corrosion, as was the Tincommius minim from the same site, but the coin bears no indication of wear from circulation. It is illustrated, original size, on Plate XIV, 14, and enlarged, in Fig. 4.

Mr. Collis also found, during the same excavations, a 'tin' coin of Class II, similar to Mack 24. This is the class of coin on which the obverse head is reduced to a ring-and-dot and the reverse to little more than a square in a circle. There is good evidence that coins of this type were in use in Claudian times in Kent. The new find is the most westerly example yet of Class II. It came from the top fill of a Belgic gully, mixed with later material; a Hadrianic coin was found only a few inches away. This is not, perhaps, evidence that the coin circulated in Flavian times, but it does confirm the likelihood that Class II 'tin' coins remained in circulation into the early Roman occupation.

The coin weighs 14.66 grains (0.95 grams) and is illustrated original size in Plate XIV, 15, and, enlarged, in Fig. 5.

Since this was drafted, during the 1967 season, Mr. Collis has found yet another new silver minim of Verica, but I will reserve this very interesting piece for next year.

THE 'WOLF' SCEATTAS

By D. M. METCALF and D. R. WALKER

THE basic task in a numismatic study of the later sceat series is still to say where and in what order the coins were struck. The difficulties in doing so arise from the profuse variety of types that have to be accommodated into the first four decades of the eighth century; from the relatively uncontrolled character of the coinage (which is largely anepigraphic) and the prevalence of copying; and from the lack of hoards or grave-finds which might throw light on the chronology of the various issues. The *BMC*/Hill 'Types' that have been listed¹ run to 76, not counting a dozen 'mules' and as many 'varieties'. Some out of this total of a hundred are rarities of one kind or another, and some are imitative pieces, so that the number of substantive issues is less bewildering. Even the common types, however, are problematic: stylistic analysis of some of them has shown that they cannot be assumed to be of a single origin. Provenances are in a few cases sufficient to make out a case for the localization of particular varieties. Once the possibility of imitation is admitted, the question where the sceattas were struck loses the straightforwardness it may once have appeared to have, and the quantity of the available evidence becomes insufficient to set against the new dimensions of the problem. One or two varieties show clearly the east Kentish distribution (familiar to the archaeologist) which points to Canterbury as a mint-place; several have an inscription referring to London; others are localized at Southampton; and there are individual imitative coins with provenances which associate them with Northumbria or old Mercia. The question in what order the coins were struck likewise appeared more straightforward when the types, regarded as units, were arranged into a very restricted number of sequences, and when a largely chronological significance could accordingly be read into the borrowing or devolution of elements in the designs, and the 'muling' of types.

Coins of a single type can no longer be assumed to belong together in the sense of having come from the same workshop, until they have been examined one by one, and the pattern of die-similarities among them carefully assessed. If the prospect of achieving a synthesis and of tracing the history of the English coinage over the period ca. 675-750 has receded as a result of the studies of the last few years, at least one may hope that the numismatic problems are now set in a clearer perspective. The preliminary research still to be completed may be described as the construction of working lists of specimens, in which the style and attribution of each coin is discussed in detail, and with reference to any other coins which exhibit die-similarities with it. Often, the conclusions may need to be limited in character, leaving various possibilities open; but where near-duplicate dies have been put on record, the work once done should not need to be undone.

The most practical way of making progress is to study a type or a number of related types, even though the coins may prove to be a grouping which cuts across the work of more than one mint. The earlier types—*Pada*, *Varimund*, Rigold's A, Runic, B and BIIIb, and *BMC*

¹ P. V. Hill, 'Uncatalogued sceattas in the national and other collections', *NC* xiii (1953), 92-114, numbers the new types in continuation of the numbering in C. F. Keary, *A Catalogue of*

English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series, vol. 1, 1887 (hereafter as *BMC*), pp. 2-22. Hill also lists mules and varieties.

Type 37 have been surveyed in this way, as have the 'porcupines'.¹ The later phase of the sceat series, in which the links with Frisia were no longer of consequence, has still to be re-explored. One may conjecture that Frankish ascendancy over Frisia, won in the 730's, disrupted Frisian enterprise and brought to an end the English 'economic boom' of the early eighth century.²

As one step towards such a re-exploration, we offer here an essay on the 'wolf' sceattas, *BMC* Types 32 and 33. Their study was prompted by the recent discovery of a specimen of Type 32a, in the archaeological excavation of a Roman villa site at Shakenoak, near Witney, some ten miles west of Oxford.³ A search through the published catalogues and other available sources yielded 28 examples of Type 32, and a further 23 of the related Types 33 and 42—and it showed that there were, on the one hand, great variations of style among them, and, on the other, the closest stylistic cross-links between some specimens of the two types, and close stylistic connexions also with the 'London' types and with *BMC* Type 42. These connexions make it difficult (bearing in mind the time-scale into which all the sceattas have to be fitted) to envisage that every known specimen of Types 32a and 33 might be arranged as the successive issues of a single workshop. The view that they must be placed into parallel series, for which the minting arrangements were separate, is the central proposition on which we shall attempt to bring evidence to bear. The procedure of recognizing different styles among coins of the same general design, and then looking at the localization of those styles, has already been applied to the 'Bird on cross' (Series B) and 'Porcupine' sceattas.⁴ The method of studying the style of the coins can be summarized as a piecemeal search for details which are manifestly by the hand of the same die-cutter, and which enable one to construct little blocks of related coins.

As a first step in the presentation, let us look at the portraiture on six well-struck specimens, representing three styles. The obverses are shown by enlarged illustrations on **Pl. VII, A–F**, in order to facilitate the close observation of a number of aspects which can be recognized from a photograph far more easily than they can be put into words. The reverses, together with the obverses, appear at their natural size, in place in the sequences, on **Pl. VII**. In the first two pairs, one coin of each is of Type 32a, and the other is of Type 33. In the third pair, one coin is of Type 33, and the other is of Type 18. On **Pl. VII, A⁵ and B⁶** the head is narrow, with a vertical profile, and is almost confined to the left-hand half of the flan. The cross-sceptre has dots at the ends of the four arms, and a dot at the bottom of the staff. On **Pl. VII, C⁷ and D⁸**, the profile is more rounded and the eye is a large circle within an almond-shaped outline. The pointed tip of the nose turns outwards. On **Pl. VII, E⁹ and F¹⁰**, the face is larger, and the planes between the nose and cheek are more subtly modelled. The drapery is quite different; even more striking is the long, rounded bob of hair (interpreted on other coins as the neck, but cf. pence of Offa by Ethelwald) hanging down

¹ S. E. Rigold, 'The two primary series of sceattas', *BNJ* xxx (1960–61), 6–53 is a study of major significance, opening the way for a reappraisal of the entire sceat series. It surveys all the earlier issues, up to BIII B. A critique appears in D. M. Metcalf, 'A coinage for Mercia under Aethelbald', *Cunobelin* xii (1966), 26–39, where *BMC* Type 37 is also brought into evidence. The extensive series of 'porcupine' sceattas is discussed by Metcalf in *NC* vi (1966), 179–205.

² J. P. C. Kent, 'From Roman Britain to Saxon England', in R. H. M. Dolley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1961, pp. 1–22, argues that it is difficult to

protract the sceat coinage beyond 750, if so late a date is possible, and that there was accordingly a gap between the sceat and penny coinage.

³ D. R. Walker, 'Another Saxon Sceat from Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia* xxxi, publishes details of the discovery.

⁴ Metcalf, op. cit., *Cunobelin* 1966 and *NC* 1966.

⁵ Catalogue no. 14.

⁶ Cat. no. 15.

⁷ Cat. no. 7.

⁸ Cat. no. 4.

⁹ Cat. no. 30.

¹⁰ *BMC* 103.

at the back.¹ The treatment of the eye is similar to that on **C** and **D**, but the almond shape is more elongated. The hair above and below the diadem is separately engraved, as on **C** and **D**. The cross-sceptre is larger and more delicate than on **A** and **B**. The reader who has looked for himself at the various details that have been mentioned will, we believe, already share our opinion that, in the case of each of these pairs of coins, there can be no doubt that the obverse dies are the work of the same hand and stand in very close relation to each other. This would not, of course, imply on stylistic grounds alone that the three pairs were by three different hands: they could perhaps have been produced, at different dates, by the same die-cutter. Since, however, such a theory would involve, for pairs A-B and C-D, an alternation between the reverse designs of Types 32a and 33, between straight and coiled ties to the diadem, and, in sum, between two mature styles, the straightforward hypothesis will be that which places them in parallel with each other.

The next step is to inspect the remainder of the coins that have been gathered up to see whether any of them are in general similar enough to be provisionally grouped with A-B, C-D, or E-F. The pattern which emerges is that there are two compact blocks of Type 32a, the

Type/Style:	A-B	C-D	E-F
32a	{ <i>BMC</i> 153 <i>Fitzw.</i> 254 <i>Copenh.</i> 43 <i>Hunter.</i> 99 Mack Baldwin Brown	Grantley 699 Canterbury { Garton <i>BMC</i> 155 <i>Hunter.</i> 98 Grantley 679 Lockett 247 Carlyon-Britton 167a	Ashmolean (Evans) (?) <i>BMC</i> 154 (?) Ashmolean (Wilcote)
33	{ <i>BMC</i> 158 <i>Hunter.</i> 102	Lockett 248 { <i>BMC</i> 157 <i>Hunter.</i> 101 <i>Hunter.</i> 97	<i>BMC</i> 160
42	{ <i>Hunter.</i> 94 Lockett 258 Roach Smith Hill <i>BMC</i> 181 <i>Copenh.</i> 44 Ashmolean (Bodley) BM (<i>NC</i> 1953) <i>Hunter.</i> 96 <i>BMC</i> 180 Lockett 259 (?) <i>Hunter.</i> 95		

FIG. 1—Provisional list of coins associated by similarity of style. Die-linked coins are bracketed.

¹ On other specimens, of good style, in the 'London' group of sceattas, the same element in the design is clearly meant to be the neck (see, for example, *BMC* pl. ii, 20 and 24), and it is possible that the die-cutter of coins E and F intended to show a neck, but did so ineptly. Our reasons for suggesting that on these two coins the 'neck' should be interpreted as a bob of hair are (i) that

it is continued above the level of the ear, and joins the diadem—which would be anatomically implausible if it were a neck; (ii) that the modelling is such as to make this element stand out in higher relief than the cheek; (iii) that this seems to have been a known hair-style, cf. the coins of Offa by Ethelwald which show a bob of hair *and* a neck.

one (as A-B) characterised by a wolf with fur, and a double border on the obverse, the other (C-D) by a much simplified wolf-whorl or wolf-serpent, and a single border on the obverse. It will be noticed that there has been quite a high survival-rate, as indicated by the proportion of die-duplicates. The drapery of the bust in both blocks consists usually of hatching within a semi-circle (see Fig. 2).

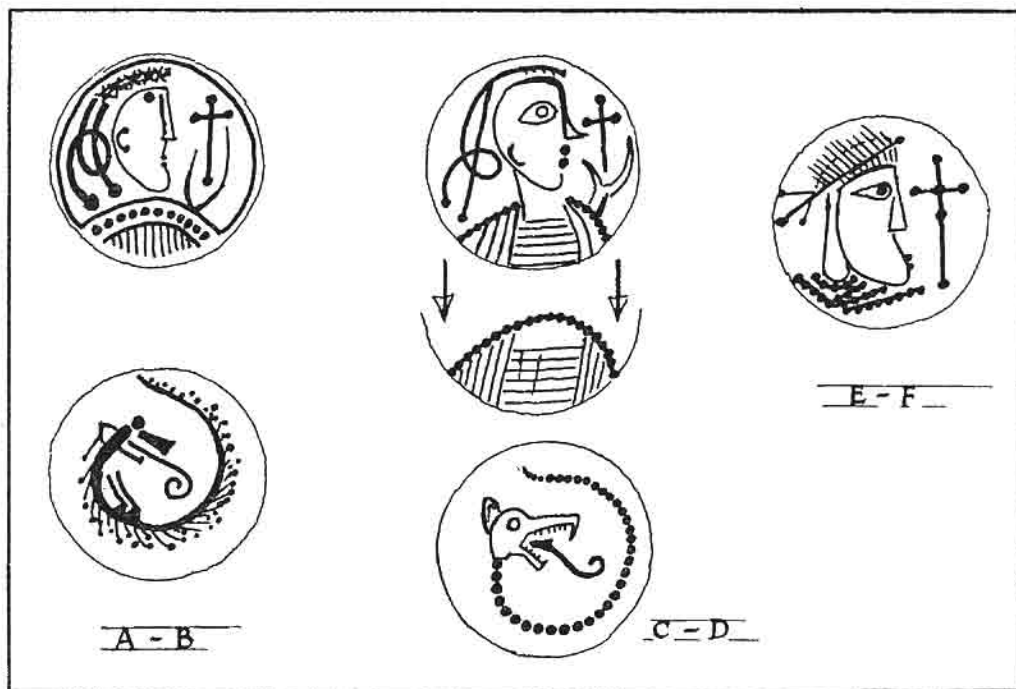


Fig. 2—Diagram to illustrate the styles of Type 32a, etc.

This is repeated for Type 33 in the C-D style; in the A-B group, the more elaborate bust of coin B, and a die-duplicate of it, are the only available specimens of Type 33, and there is thus no basis from which to generalize. So far as one can judge, from the modelling of the head, and the simple, dotted eye, most specimens of Type 42 belong together in terms of their style, and stand with group A-B. There are, all told, enough specimens in groups A-B and C-D to suggest that they were substantive issues, and so to establish a canon of style by which the more eccentric coins can be judged. The few that have been listed under E-F are by no means a compact stylistic group, although a case can be made out for their association. The drapery of the bust is quite different (see Fig. 2) as is the treatment of the wolf's head. The animal on the unique specimen of Type 33 in this style is a sensitive copy of a coin of group C-D.¹ The E-F coins seem to be outliers as far as the 'wolf' design is concerned (as are the more obvious copies, which have been left on one side for the present); and the main topic is the relationship between groups A-B and C-D.

There is clear evidence that they are struck to different weight-standards. Group C-D (the simpler design) is not only heavier, but more exactly controlled: this is an obstacle to

¹ See the note under cat. no. 30.

the theory of stylistic devolution advanced by Keary¹ and Brooke,² and accepted with some reserve by Hill.³ The metrology of the two groups can best be studied from the diagram (Fig. 3), which suggests a modal value of around 17.1–17.2 gr. for C–D, which is thus fully as heavy as Type BIIIb.⁴ Its weight is a reason for placing it early in the sceat series.

	STYLE A-B		STYLE C-D
Types:	32/33	42	
19	_____		_____x_____
18	_____	x	_____x_____
17	_____		_____x x x_____
16	_____x x x	x x	_____x x
15	_____x x	x x	_____
14	_____x		_____
13	_____x	x	_____
12	_____x		_____

FIG. 3—Weights of the coins of groups A-B and C-D listed in Fig. 1.

Are groups A-B and C-D from separate workshops, as their metrology might suggest? There are two coins which are apparently intermediate between them, namely *Fitzw.* 255 and BM (Barnett) 263. Both obverse and reverse of these coins are in the general style of C-D, but there is a double border on the obverse, and the drapery of the bust is also copied

¹ Keary, *op. cit.*, in his description of the reverse design of *BMC* 151–6, implies a stylistic degeneration from *BMC* 151 onwards: 'the hind legs of the wolf have disappeared . . . fore legs of the wolf have also disappeared, and it has become a wolf-headed serpent . . . serpent represented by a single dotted line.' He drew the comparison between *BMC* 151 and the 'wolf and twins' design (*BMC* Type 7)—with the implication, evidently, that Type 32a was derived from, or inspired by, Type 7.

² G. C. Brooke, in his classification of the sceattas (in *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day*, 3rd edn., 1950, pp. 5–9) made the connexion explicit, and carried the theory of devolution further: his Type 21, 'Wolf curved over head to tail, developing into a torque and thence into a wolf's head' amalgamates *BMC* Types 32 and 33.

³ P. V. Hill, 'The animal, "Anglo-Merovingian", and miscellaneous series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas', *BNJ* xxvii (1952–4), 1–38 gives the fullest analysis hitherto available of the 'wolf' sceattas. He writes, 'the evolution of the Wolf types is seen in types 32a, 32b, and 33, with the Hunterian wolf-standard representing an intermediate stage . . . The sequence itself is clear enough, but it is by no means easy to date.'

⁴ Which specimens of BIIIb are original and which are copies is discussed in Metcalf, *op. cit.*, *Cunobelin* 1966. Of the coins accepted there as original, not all the weights are available. Those given by Rigold are 15.3, 17.0, 17.5, and 15.0 gr. The coins in Rigold's list claimed as copies by Metcalf weigh 10.2, 9.7, 14.2, 13.2, 13.9, 12.2, 14.2, and 13.6 gr.

from A-B. On the reverse, the wolf-whorl is laterally reversed; the style of the wolf's head is difficult to judge, but it is not closely in accord with C-D, as the upper jaw is short, the gape is wide, and the lower jaw is parallel with the upper. The weight of these two coins—16.3 and 16.4 gr.—would be appropriate to either group. One of the coins was found at Reculver (see Fig. 4). Are they the hinge which joins the two groups? There seems insufficient reason for such a claim: no stylistic progression can be argued from them to group A-B (it could hardly be in the other direction, for reasons of metrology), and the similarities will perhaps be better interpreted as the result of copying.

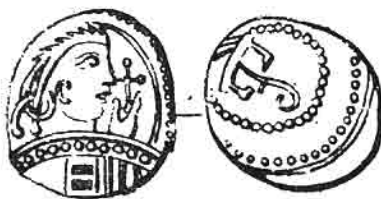


FIG. 4—Fitzw. 255, as illustrated in Camden's *Britannia*. The irregularities of the flan, etc., are faithfully reproduced, but the reverse design has apparently been laterally reversed by the engraver.

However, since there is only a single, unusual pair of dies representing Type 33 in group A-B, let us consider for a moment longer whether it might after all be possible to arrange the whole of A-B and C-D into a single chronological sequence. Type 33 (style C-D) might stand at one end (chronologically) of the sequence, and 32a (style A-B) at the other. The difficulties raised by such a scheme are, still, that it ignores the metrological difference between the groups, and that the various proximities of style between coins of different types (including Type 42) require too many specimens to be placed close to the point of transition between one type and another. This last is, however, a matter of subjective judgement. One might hope to bring forward more specific evidence, which would dispose of the 'single-sequence' hypothesis, by arguing that groups A-B and C-D can each, separately, be placed into a compact sequence on the basis of stylistic devolution. An attempt has been made below to assess the details which may point to the chronological order of the coins. It is, admittedly, very incomplete as an argument, but, as new coins are brought to light by archaeological excavation or chance discovery, some of the gaps will probably be filled in. Meanwhile, the interpretation of the two groups as parallel rather than consecutive, while it is not proven, is the best working hypothesis.

The principal elements in the design which are variable, and which might be interpreted as being earlier or later, are as follows:

(a) the drapery of the bust. The semicircle may be shown as a single row of dots; an inner wire border and an outer row of dots; an inner wire border and two rows of dots; or a row of dots between two wire borders. On some coins, the treatment is realistic. They are Grantley 699 (Type 32a), Lockett 248 (33), and Lockett 258 and *Hunter*. 96 (42). The most natural explanation of these would be that they were early, and that the stylized version derives from them. As soon as the attempt is made to arrange all the coins in accordance with this explanation, its corollary becomes clear: certain examples of Types 32a, 33, and 42 were in production concurrently by one man. If that should seem extravagant, the alternative explanation is that the die-cutter of the C-D coins built up a repertory of design details, and drew on them from time to time as he wished. He was evidently more inclined than the

A-B die-cutter to introduce small variations of design, but an alternation between realistic drapery and a stylized version of the same is a theory that is not without its own difficulties.

(b) The ties of the diadem. These are coiled or knotted on Types 32a and 42, but merely forked on Type 33. Again, it will seem that the die-cutter kept both details in his repertory, and made the assumption that forked, rather than knotted, ties were a necessary element in the portrait that was to accompany the Type 33 reverse. The stylistic treatment of the knot is, on the other hand, more likely to have been an unconscious trait, and will therefore be a surer guide to the arrangement of the coins. The knot is small and neat on Type 32a, groups A-B and C-D, but more expansive on the specimens of Type 42 with a cross (not a bird) in front of the face. In group E-F the knot is either ineptly drawn, or excessively large. The other types which may have knotted ties are 20 and 52; in both, the treatment suggests borrowing.¹ (See Fig. 5.)

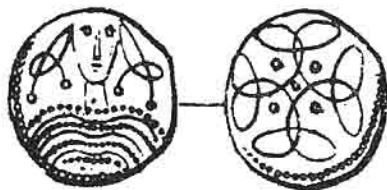


FIG. 5.—*BMC* Type 52, from Camden's *Britannia*. Compare the drapery with pl. VII B; but note that the latter has plain ties. The knotted ties shown here probably derive from a coin of Type 32a or 42.

(c) The cross or cross-sceptre. The differences between coins A-B, C-D, and E-F have been described above. In addition, the cross-sceptre on no. 16 (Type 42) in the catalogue below is a near-duplicate of those on coins A and B. Coins of Type 33 show an exceptionally long cross, with no hand holding it, and here again it seems that the die-cutter regarded a hand as a necessary part of the design of Type 32a, and its absence as a characteristic of Type 33.

(d) The mouth and beard. The mouth is shown by two dots, which are distinctly smaller in group A-B than in C-D. On 4 coins all from one die of Type 32a (style C-D) and on a coin of Type 33, a more realistic mouth is attempted, and a beard is shown.²

(e) The animal. The effect of fur is cleverly created (in group A-B) by the use of dots of different sizes, scattered on either side of the radius of the curve. Coin A, on which the wolf has four legs but less ambitious fur, stands at some distance from the rest of the coins. At the other extreme is no. 12, where the wolf lacks even its fore-legs, and is surrounded by two dotted borders. The tongue may curl up or down. In group C-D the more careful dies show the animal's teeth. The exact similarity in the modelling of the muzzle, on coins C and D, is remarkable. Coin D is from an unusually elaborate reverse die, for it includes a plain

¹ Type 20: On *BMC* 106 and 107, etc., a sharp angle is introduced into the knot of the ties. Type 52: the ties of the diadem are borrowed from the profile of Type 32a, duplicated, and used with a facing bust. *BMC* 198, which is illustrated by Withy and Ryall as their no. 7 (see under cat. no. 7a), is from the Isle of Thanet, and the poorer replica published by Hill in *NC* 1953 is a Richborough find.

² On Type 33, the beard is not certain. Miss Robertson, in reply to our enquiry, has kindly written, 'I have now had time to scrutinise very carefully the sceatta no. 97. . . (i) there seems to be an attempt to show the mouth (ii) I think there is a beard but the coin is very worn . . .'

wire torque (with a knob at one end), encircling the wolf-serpent. A torque with one or two elegant animal heads as terminals is similarly added to the coins in group E-F.

The search for 'early' details is thus not straightforward. One is left with the impression that the die-cutters would sometimes apply special ingenuity or inventiveness to the production of a die of more than ordinary artistic merit (and that they would then strike carefully from it), but that the 'experimental' coins cannot all stand early in the sequence or sequences, unless the number of the latter were to be multiplied unreasonably. If so, we should incline to the view (while admitting the difficulty of reaching any decision) that the introduction of Type 32a is earlier than that of Type 33, and we would argue in support of it that

(i) the Garton grave-find, which lies at the turning-point between the earlier and later phases of the sceatta coinage, includes one heavy specimen of Type 32a, in very fresh condition. This is not conclusive, since it is well within the bounds of possibility that (if Type 33 had been in currency) it could have been absent from the find—particularly as it seems to have been a small issue.

(ii) Type 32a is perhaps the last of the substantive issues of sceattas to be extensively imitated.¹ If Type 33 had been interposed between Rigold's Series B and Type 3a, and Type 32a, we think that it would have attracted more copies than it did—both in England and in Frisia.² Copying must have been to some extent a matter of taste, but the reverse design of Type 33 is striking and, capturing as it does the sense of the animal's straining forward, appeals to the imagination. If it was not copied more often, this may have been because the economic climate had begun to deteriorate.

(iii) In terms of design, a transition from Type 32a to 33 is easier to envisage than the opposite. The wolf's head is enlarged, and a somewhat awkward frill is added to join its neck to the border of the design. Type 32a (C-D), with its strong impression of circular movement, is in the idiom (and the general style) of Types BIIIb, 60, and 37.³ Had Type 33 been issued first, elements in its design would have been likely to have been carried over into Type 32: for example, there is a subtly graded pattern of dots, thus (·····), above the animal's nose, on coin C, which was evidently regarded as a necessary part of the design, for it was reproduced, in a flatter manner, on coin A, and copied sketchily on an imitative piece in the Thames hoard. The tongue, on Type 33, has to be curled down and back because the enlarged head leaves no room for it in front: this disposition would probably have found an echo in at least some of the better specimens of Type 32a, had they been later in date.

If it be accepted that Type 32a stands first, and that not all the 'experimental' coins can be early, it becomes possible to take a more definite view on the relationship between styles A-B and C-D, in particular by arguing from the hatching of the drapery of the bust. We suggest that A-B is copied from C-D. The dotted semicircle, which is sometimes doubled or trebled in the C-D group, is advanced to greater prominence in the design of the A-B coins: it becomes an ornamental band consisting of a dotted curve between two wire borders. The vertical and horizontal hatching, which is a stylized version of the drapery on coin no. 1 below, is not fully understood and is therefore reproduced as a smaller, unbroken segment of

¹ The evidence on this point is not entirely clear: see below.

² Note the Frisian imitations of Type 3a in the Hallum hoard, Dirks, pl. D, 31, of which there were 20 specimens.—J. Dirks, 'Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits sceattas', *Revue de la*

Numismatique Belge 5 ser. ii (1870), 81-128, 269-320, 387-409, 521-541.

³ Note an imitation, in copper, of Type 60, from Domburg: *Tijdschrift v. Munt- en Penningkunde* iii (1895), pl. ii, 26.

unbroken vertical hatching. The many die-similarities that are to be observed among the 'wolf' sceattas suggest that their issue was limited to a brief number of years. In that context, artistic borrowing between the die-cutters of groups A-B and C-D (leaving aside the irregular imitative pieces discussed below, some of which might have been produced after a certain lapse of time) seems to imply that they had ready access to one another's work, as well as a lively interest in the artistic aspects of die-cutting. If sceattas could be promptly copied as far afield as Frisia, however, this need not imply that they were working in the same city—nor, indeed, in the same kingdom. It is evident that, in the early eighth century, ideas about design, as well as the coins themselves, were travelling quickly from region to region. The available provenances for the 'wolf' sceattas suggest that the two main groups both belong to the south-east. The only indications that they should be given to different mints are the metrological differences between them, and the analogy of Types B and BIIIB. Of the specimens listed under the rubric C-D, one is from Stourmouth (adjacent to Richborough), one is probably from the Isle of Thanet, and one is from the Garton grave-find. The A-B group is recorded from Reculver, and there is a copy from Domburg. Belfort notes that 12 coins of Type 32a have been found at Domburg. Of these, none can now be located in the Zeeuwsch Museum.¹ All the foregoing finds are of Type 32a. Type 42 has been found (again) at Reculver, at Southampton, near Oxford, and at Domburg.² The east Kentish localization for the various types considered together is thus pronounced. The two provenanced specimens of the derivative Type 52 are from Richborough and the Isle of Thanet. The Thames hoard (which is heavily flavoured with imitative coins) includes a copy of Type 32a, style A-B; it is the source of the 'London'-style coin of Type 33, which has been used as an example above, and which is itself, in our view, a close copy of a coin of style C-D; and, thirdly, it includes a poor copy of Type 33, which can also be referred to style C-D. The composition of the hoard tallies with a view that Type 33 is later than 32a, and it offers specific evidence (since the second coin is a handsome piece of work, and in fresh condition, while the third is a rough production) that copying took place very promptly. The other imitative coins of Type 32a to which English provenances attach are, except for one more from Reculver, from the periphery of the circulation-area of sceattas: one is from the Whitby excavations, one from Wilcote, and one (probably) from Southampton.³

Chronological limits for the 'wolf' sceattas are indicated by the Garton grave-find, which at first sight brackets Type 32a closely with BIIIB and 3a; and by their absence from the Hallum and Cimiez hoards, which suggests that they are later, or at least very little earlier, than the date of deposit of 737 proposed for Cimiez. The high average weight of group C-D speaks in favour of a relatively early date, but there are hardly any fixed points in the chronology of the series by which this can be interpreted. If the ties of the diadem of Type 20 are copied from 32a, the former also must be dated around 740—say within 5 years either way. The Hallum hoard leaves little doubt that the 'Wodan/monster' type is earlier than Type 42, and since it is so much cruder in style, that there is therefore no likelihood of copying. In light of the Garton find in particular, it would be difficult to make the 'wolf and twins' type (*BMC* Type 7) earlier than Type 32, and correspondingly difficult to see it as the prototype (we return to this below).

¹ Miss A. A. van der Poel has very kindly searched through the collection for us, and found only the copy of Type 42, cat. no. 43.

² The Domburg find is a copy.

³ Sutherland, in *NC* 1942, lists a Barnett coin as

part of a probable hoard from Southampton. The Barnett bequest to the British Museum included 2 specimens of Type 32a, cat. nos. 32 and 38 below, but it is not recorded which of them came from Southampton.

Of Garton, Rigold writes, 'this hoard . . . is of the highest importance for comparative chronology . . . the later Kentish issues, e.g. Type 32a, begin earlier than expected . . . Buried c. 730?' Of Cimiez and Hallum he says, 'the probable dates of 737 (with a little time for coin drift from England) and 734 (or soon after) . . . they contain true "London-connected" coins. That three out of the four of these are imitations only lessens the danger of too late a dating.' The 'watershed' in the sceat coinage, he goes on to argue, must be sought not far from 730, with the introduction of *BMC* Type 3a; the *LVNDONIA* legend was introduced probably by Aethelbald c. 731-2.¹ In accordance with this model, the 'wolf' sceattas would seem to be a coinage of five to ten years' duration, in the 730's or early 740's. Their absolute chronology cannot be determined with any greater precision as yet.

Their relative chronology, however, deserves some further consideration, especially since it rests partly on argument *a silentio*. There is a certain tension, on Rigold's model, between the evidence of the Garton grave-find on the one hand and that of Cimiez and Hallum on the other. If Garton is as early as c. 730, it is rather surprising that there were no specimens of Types 32 or 33 in Cimiez, where the English element seems to have a compact age-structure, characterized by late coins of Type B, and *BMC* Types 37, 3a, and 6 ('plumed bird'), or their imitations; the Hallum hoard includes a closely similar range of English types, and the varieties of 'porcupines', too, match those in Cimiez.² The presence of a specimen of Type 23e (derivative from 32a) in the Morel-Fatio collection, supposedly from Cimiez, is problematic; but as the collection is known to have included sceattas not from Cimiez³ we are inclined to disregard it, failing better evidence, and to keep to the view that both Cimiez and Hallum reflect the English (or Kentish) currency as it was at a date just before the introduction of Type 32a. The Garton find consists of chosen pieces, in fine condition—perhaps specially selected by their original owner from the currency at large. It may have a somewhat extended age-structure, for the *BIIB* coins are quite fresh. Cimiez and Hallum, on the other hand, as well as being far larger, are more miscellaneous assemblies of coins. Each element in the equation involves conjecture (age-structure of Garton; time for 'drift' to the Continent; date of deposit of Hallum and Cimiez), but, with the Thames hoard in mind, we should be reluctant to assume that it would take five years for Type 32a to drift to Cimiez. One year seems a sufficient interval. The difficulties are almost as great if Garton is moved to c. 737, let alone 741 (the date Lafaurie has suggested for Cimiez⁴). The English coins in Cimiez might, of course, have been a sum of money hoarded some years before the final deposit of the treasure; or events in Frisia may have caused an interruption in the flow of coinage and coin-types into Gaul. Hallum, however, supports the *prima facie* interpretation of Cimiez—and it certainly included a copy of a 'London' coin. The English coins in Hallum had had a much shorter distance to travel, to Frisia; and there is de Belfort's evidence that a dozen specimens of Type 32a were found at Domburg. To sum up, the English elements in both hoards favour dates for their deposit as early in the 730's as can be sustained. The Garton find is at present an isolated piece of evidence, and may not support a date quite as early as 730 for the introduction of Type 32a.

¹ Rigold, *op. cit.*, at p. 23.

² Discussed further in *NC* 1966, 203.

³ A. Morel-Fatio and A. Chabouillet, *Catalogue raisonné de la collection de deniers mérovingiens des VIIe et VIIIe siècles de la trouvaille de Cimiez*, 1890, Introduction, and note on p. 46.

⁴ J. Lafaurie, 'Les routes commerciales indiquées

par les trésors et trouvailles monétaires mérovingiens', *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1961, at p. 266, citing G. de Manteyer's proposed attribution of 5 coins in the Cimiez hoard reading *Obv. KAP, Rev. PAS* (*Karolus Provinciae/Patricius*) to 741 or later.

Observations on the iconography of the 'wolf' sceattas, as on other types, are best kept within the framework of attributions, and datings, which have been argued separately. The profile bust, and cross, of the obverse are another version of the design seen on *BMC* Type 3a. The diadem perhaps indicates a royal personage. The modifications introduced into the design in style A-B may well be derived from the Frisian 'Wodan/monster' type of the variety which dominated the Hallum hoard,¹ and which was contemporary with Type 3a.

It has always been assumed that the reverse of Types 32 and 33 represents a wolf, wolf-serpent, or wolf-whorl, probably because they were seen in relation to Type 7, of which the reverse depicts the wolf and twins. The latter type has, conversely, been supposed to stand early in the sceat series, and to be the prototype of the others, in accordance with the general tendency to think in terms of stylistic devolution and degeneration of designs. No independent evidence for the dating of Type 7 has been advanced. Type 32a, group C-D, we have suggested above, is the earliest of the 'wolf' sceattas: on this view, as the design was developed and borrowed, its small-scale formalism and clarity of conception were overlaid by attempts to depict the animal itself in more detail or more strikingly. The reverses on which the wolf has four legs (nos. 14, 33, and 34) are almost a new design: it is from these, if there is a connection, that the 'wolf and twins' sceattas draw their artistic inspiration—and not the other way round. On no. 13 the wolf is apparently licking itself. The curve of its spine is derived from the original whorl-pattern, and may have suggested the pose in which the wolf is shown. The curved spine of the wolf with twins is similarly copied from an earlier sceat, and not directly, we suggest, from a Constantinian coin. The 'wolf and twins' penny of Aethelberht of East Anglia, by contrast, is a close copy of a Roman original.²

The 'wolf-serpent' of Type 32a (group C-D) can hardly be a torque, as the wolf's head is too large, and occupies too central a place. It should be seen in the context of Germanic and Merovingian animal art of the VI-VIII centuries, as a traditional design incorporating the half-remembered pagan symbolism of turning animals. In group A-B the design is treated as a wolf-whorl, or as a wolf with arched back. Salin would describe it simply as a 'curled monster'.³ The torques which are added to the coins of group E-F are of interest both because they change the scale of the design, and because there is, apparently, no other evidence for the production of this class of ornamental metalwork in the eighth century.

Type 42, usually described as a hound and tree, undoubtedly derives originally from the traditional 'monster looking behind', which is seen also on the Frisian 'Wodan/monster' type.⁴ Its iconography may, however, have become confused, and the animal, sometimes with a round ear, and a short tail curled up over its back, may have been interpreted as a dog. In the form in which it occurs on the coins, the design is probably an incomplete section, or 'enlargement of detail', from an 'inhabited vine' ornament. The specimen on which the animal is biting a fruit from the tree is perhaps irregular.

The interpretation placed on individual coins depends very much on the overall view, and we hope that we have succeeded in conveying an impression of the way in which many minute comparisons—usually of one particular detail on two coins—are woven into a fabric, in which a pattern can be seen. It is rarely that one can offer any clear, outright proof: the claim must be, rather, that to disturb the proposed arrangement at one point would involve

¹ Dirks, *op. cit.*, pl. D, 29 (140 specimens).

² Kent, *op. cit.*, illustrates the 3 coins in question, side by side, at pl. ii, 6, 7, and 8.

les sépultures, les textes, et le laboratoire, vol. IV, 1959, pp. 241ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 209-22.

³ E. Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne d'après*

too many consequential changes at others. The comments offered in the catalogue below will, it is hoped, be found to be consistent with the general ideas that have been developed. The entries do not give a full, formal description of what can be seen on the coin, but are designed to draw attention to points which seem to be of significance for the arrangement, and to describe details which, because they are worn or weakly struck, cannot be recorded adequately by a photograph, although they are clear on a cast or on the coin itself.

The 'wolf' sceattas seem to have been a relatively small coinage and to have had a high survival-rate. In the 'official' part of the series, that is to say groups A-B and C-D, it is quite possible that half the original dies are known today; average output per die may well have been lower among the imitative pieces, and the dies (in group C-D) from which 4 coins are known may well have been allowed an unusually long life. Against the background of these estimates of quantity, which it is hoped to discuss more fully elsewhere, the geographical distribution of the finds, and the detailed ways in which the coins were copied, can both be seen in sharper focus. If a current selection of copies of a small, east Kentish currency was present in the Thames hoard, along with 'London' types, this can be understood in terms of a coastwise traffic up the Thames estuary; but it is more intriguing that copies should turn up at places as far away as Whitby, Witney and (perhaps) Southampton—and that they should be copies of what may be a 'London' version rather than of the originals. It is also intriguing that there should be two series on different weight-standards, both apparently east Kentish (although group C-D *could*, on the evidence, be from elsewhere). And the many similarities between some of the copies and their originals suggest in clear terms that the die-cutter had an eye for the smallest details, and that he sometimes sat down with another sceat in front of him, and attempted to reproduce its design in facsimile, almost in the way in which an art student makes an exercise of copying the work of a master. Since the original total of dies was small, it is quite possible that we can examine today, alongside an imitation, a coin from the self-same die from which the copyist's model was struck. We draw attention to the similarities between nos. 7 and 30, and nos. 33 and 34, as discussed in the catalogue below.

In attempting to give a coherent view of the 'wolf' sceattas which takes account of all the available evidence about them, the uncertainties in the scheme are necessarily greater at some points than at others. Thus, we think that the cruder imitative pieces at the end of the catalogue will be readily recognizable as such; and we hope that the distinction drawn between groups A-B with C-D, and all the remaining coins, will not seem controversial. The inner logic of groups A-B and C-D and the relationship between them present more delicate problems. Finally, we would urge that the reader who looks closely at the illustrations, in conjunction with reading the text of the catalogue, will find that the coins themselves are more eloquent, and more rewarding, than any number of dry words.

CATALOGUE

Coins marked with an asterisk are illustrated on Pl. VII

GROUP C-D: TYPE 32a

- *1. *Obv.* Details which may be interpreted as early (apart from the realistic drapery) include (a) the unusual treatment of the hair, which is shown by a single, detached, dotted line giving a 'helmet' effect; (b) the realistic modelling of the hand; (c) the absence of a dot at the bottom of the cross.

- Rev.* The wolf's head is larger than on the following coins. The teeth are cut minutely. The root of the tongue is marked by a wedge-shaped thickening.
- (a) Grantley 699 (ill.). A cast of this coin, from the Evans cast collection, is marked 'Marsham and Montagu collns.'; it is thus probably Montagu 170.
- *2. *Obv.* The hair is in the characteristic cross-hatched style. The drapery is apparently surrounded by a single dotted border, and the horizontal hatching fills the central space. The thumb is bent in to hold the cross, which still lacks a dot at the foot.
- Rev.* The wolf's head is smaller, and a wire 'tail', curving outwards, has been added. The tongue is apparently cut off squarely.
- (a) 15.75 gr. Canterbury Museum, no. 8083, found c. 1880 at Stourmouth, Kent (i.e. adjacent to Richborough). Published by Rigold, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and pl. IV; weight by courtesy of Miss L. Millard.
- *3. *Obv.* The hair is cross-hatched as on no. 2. The drapery of the bust is particularly elaborate: the vertical lines separating the panels of vertical and horizontal hatching are dotted; the semicircular border consists of a wire line, a light dotted line, and a bolder, outer dotted line. The mouth is shown with an attempt at realism, and the face is bearded. The nose is thinner than on nos. 1-2. The hand is cut off with a serif. The cross is fully dotted.
- Rev.* The wolf's head is much smaller, while its jaws are longer, and set at a wider angle. The root of the tongue is again wedge-shaped. Outside the dotted border there is a wire border.
- (a) 19.0 gr. Private museum of Messrs. C. and E. Grantham, at Driffild. Found 17 May 1959 by T. G. Manby, of the Huddersfield Museum, in excavation of a grave at Garton-on-the-Wolds, Yorks (E.R.); a wooden or partly wooden container with 8 coins, under the left side of the pelvis. Published in *Trans. of the Yorkshire Num. Soc.* 2nd ser., i/5 (1960), at pp. 28-30; by G. Teasdill in *The Yorkshire Arch. Jl.* clxiii (1965), at p. 358; and in Rigold, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and pl. IV.
- *(b) 17.6 gr. BMC 155. Undated, i.e. before 1838.
- (c) 17.1 gr. (somewhat worn?) *Hunter*. 98. Before c. 1785.
- (d) 17.2 gr. Grantley 679.
- *4. *Obv.* The diadem is shown by a dotted line, and the hair is marked by lines running in different directions above and below the diadem. (Cf. Type 33, nos. 6-7 below.) The hand and cross are larger and the cross is boldly dotted. The drapery is outlined by an inner wire and an outer dotted border, and the vertical partitions converge slightly downwards. Evidence that the die was cut by the same hand as nos. 1-3 is to be seen in the modelling of the face, and the very flat curve, lightly marked, to represent the ear: these are near-duplicate details with no. 2.
- Rev.* An exceptional die; a fine wire torque, with a knob-head, has been added between the wolf-torque and the outer border. The wolf's head is slightly larger than on no. 3. There are dots representing 4 teeth in the upper jaw and 3 in the lower.
- (a) Lockett 247.
- *5. *Obv.* Bold style; it is by no means certain that this is by the same hand. The hair springs from dotted 'roots', cf. the style of many of the 'porcupine' sceattas. The knotting of the ties is very compressed (in comparison with nos. 1-4) if not actually blundered. The central panel of the drapery has been filled in with vertical hatching at the top. The ear is well rounded.
- Rev.* The wolf's head is unexpectedly large if this coin is to stand late in the sequence. The almost S-shaped line of the tongue should be noted.
- (a) 17.2 gr. Carlyon-Britton 167a. (Baldwin Brown, pl. viii, 4).

GROUP C-D: TYPE 33

- *6. *Obv.* Realistic drapery, with a slight convergence towards the neck, cf. no. 1. Diadem and hair as on no. 4, but forked ties.
- Rev.* This die seems to be a less careful version of the same design as no. 7, and yet to stand close to it. The treatment of the tongue is problematic: the leaf-shaped terminal is joined to a line going to the front of the mouth; a semicircle with a dot at each end, around the nose, is a continuation of the horizontal straight line running out from the throat. The dotted border is unusually small in diameter, and there is an outer wire border, as on no. 3.
- (a) Lockett 248, ex Londesborough, Montagu and Grantley collections.
- *7. *Obv.* Diadem and hair as on no. 6. The hatching of the drapery is out of alignment with the vertical axis of the design, and the semicircle itself is in this respect asymmetrical: cf. no. 1 for a parallel (and

origin?) for this mannerism. The cross on no. 1, however, looks like a truncated version of the long cross on no. 6! The modelling of the face presents near-duplicate similarities to no. 1. Outside the dotted border there is a fine pattern, apparently of linked semicircles; cf. the reverse.

Rev. Exceptionally careful and artistic workmanship. Five fine dots for teeth in upper jaw, 4 in lower. Pattern of graduated dots above nose. The head is cut off by a dotted curve which continues the curve at the back of the ear. Outside the dotted border there is a fine pattern v.v.v.v.v., etc.

* (a) 18.2 gr. *BMC* 157. Attributed by Dolley and Strudwick (*BNJ* xxviii, 36) to the (?) Isle of Thanet finds (1756). The coin is illustrated in Withy and Ryall, as no. 10 in John White's plate of coins found 'near and in the Isle of Thanet'.

(b) 16.1 gr. *Hunter*. 101. Before c. 1785.

8. *Obv.* Obscure, but apparently realistic drapery, very much as on no. 1. Realistic mouth as on no. 3; possibly bearded, as on no. 3.

Rev. Obscure, but wolf's head seems to be to *left*; tongue curled back as on no. 6; ear very much as on no. 6. No ruff. Apparently a double border of dots. See the drawing in Hill, op. cit., pl. II, 11. (Details confirmed by kindness of Miss Robertson.)

(a) 17.1 gr. *Hunter*. 97. Before c. 1785.

GROUP A-B: TYPE 32a

*9. *Obv.* The ear is a semicircle with a dot at each end.

Rev. Elaborate fur. The wolf's tongue curls downwards.

* (a) 13.8 gr. *BMC* 153. Before 1838. The obverse and reverse dies do not coincide accurately.

(b) 14.6 gr. *Fitzw.* 254, found at Reculver before c. 1740. The registration of the dies is similar to that on (a).

10. *Obv.* Extremely similar to no. 9.

Rev. Obscure, but apparently extremely similar to no. 9. The tongue curls upwards.

(a) 11.7 gr. *Copenh.* 43, ex Bergsøe.

*11. *Obv.* The semicircular 'ornamental band' is lacking.

Rev. The wolf's jaws are set far apart. The tongue curls upwards. This coin is problematic.

(a) 16.4 gr. *Hunter*. 99. Before c. 1785.

*12. *Obv.* Deeply modelled head. Worn die?

Rev. The wolf has no legs; it has short jaws. Double outer dotted border.

(a) 16.1 gr. Cdr. R. P. Mack, ex Carlyon-Britton 168a.

13. *Rev.* Similar, laterally reversed.

(a) Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, pl. viii, 3, ex Carlyon-Britton collection.

*14. *Obv.* The inner wire border around the head is replaced by a dotted border. The central panel of the stylized drapery is filled with 4 dots; the dotted semicircle is omitted. The ties of the diadem are laterally reversed. Note the treatment of the ear—a curve with a prominent dot at each end, cf. no. 9.

Rev. A new, simplified, and more spacious treatment. The wolf has hind as well as fore-legs, and is apparently licking itself.

(a) 16.8 gr. *BMC* 151. Before 1838.

GROUP A-B: TYPE 33

*15. *Obv.* 'Saddle-back' drapery of wire line plus outer dotted line, repeated three times. The ties of the diadem consist of two straight lines. Modelling of face, cross-sceptre, etc., near-duplicate of no. 14. *Rev.* Wolf's nose presents near-duplicate details with no. 13. Pattern of dots above, cf. no. 7. A dotted line marks the junction of the wolf's head to neck, and another similar line the junction of its fore-leg to body. The tongue is apparently looped around the fore-paw, and ends in a dot.

* (a) 15.5 gr. *BMC* 158. Before 1838.

(b) 13.3 gr. *Hunter*. 102. Before c. 1785.

GROUP A-B: TYPE 42

The figure on the obverse holds a cross, a (?) branch or lily, or a bird. Coins with the cross and with the lily show die-similarities with Types 32a and 33.

*16. *Obv.* Cross-sceptre near-duplicate detail with nos. 14–15. Cross-hatched hair, single dot for eye, and modelling of face, as on no. 14, etc. Lightly drawn, simplified hand. Large knot in ties, reversed as on no. 14.

Rev. Realistic treatment of tree.

(a) 14.7 gr. *Hunter*. 94. Before c. 1785. The obv. and rev. dies do not coincide accurately.

* (b) Lockett 258. A similar discrepancy, but in a different alignment.

17. A similar coin to no. 16. On the obverse, the ties are perhaps badly drawn. The reverse die is better centred, and the tail is more roundly curled.

(a) C. Roach Smith, *Reculver*, pl. vii, 2. Found at Reculver. Roach Smith states that the coins on his pl. vii are either re-drawn from Battely (and this is so) or 'from a few preserved in the collection of Dr. Faussett of Heppington, where they are marked as having been procured from Reculver'. As this coin is not in Battely, it presumably belonged to Faussett.

18. A similar coin to no. 16. The figure holds a cross-sceptre.

Rev. Animal with bird-like head and 'beak'.

(a) Mr. P. V. Hill. *BNJ* 1952, pl. ii, 21.

- *19. *Obv.* Down-curved drapery within a semicircle, the line of which cuts lightly across the neck; one band of ornament represents the arm. A cross replaces the cross-sceptre of no. 16. The large knot associates the die with no. 16; and the modelling of the cheek is a near-duplicate detail with no. 16. The ear is smaller, but characteristic.

Rev. Carefully-drawn animal, with a complicated, knotted tail. The top of the tree still has three modelled 'buds', but they are minimized in favour of the tail.

(a) 15.0 gr. *BMC* 181. Purchased Mr. Eastwood, 1862.

20. *Obv.* The general style is close to nos. 16 and 19, but the hand holding the cross is replaced by a hand holding a (?) branch or lily, with one leaf or petal erect and two drooping to the right.

Rev. Carefully-modelled animal, with small ear; cf. no. 16. Three 'buds' at the top of the tree, and two branches with groups of 3 dots, below the animal. The animal has a long tail, which curves back, across the trunk of the tree, to end in a group of 3 bold dots near its neck. There are dots at the points where the branches join the trunk; and the intersection of the tail and the trunk is also marked by a dot.

(a) 18.2 gr. *Copenh.* 44.

21. *Obv.* Worn and obscure, but very similar to no. 20. The drapery shows that this is a different die, although the intended pattern is perhaps the same. The object held in the hand is obscure, but might be as on no. 20.

Rev. Extremely similar die to no. 20.

(a) 16.1 gr. Ashmolean, ex Bodleian Library.

22. *Obv.* Similar general style. The drapery shows traces of a V-shaped neckline, cf. no. 16. The hand holds a (?) branch or lily, of which the central leaf or petal is erect and pointed, while those falling to the left (certainly) and right (probably) are rounded.

Rev. Near-duplicate, or same die, as no. 20.

(a) 15.8 gr. British Museum, found at Southampton.

- *23. *Obv.* The head is larger, and there is not much reason to associate the die with the foregoing ones, except that the eye is represented by a single dot, rather than an almond-shaped outline. The long protruding chin and the lips are reminiscent of coins E and F. The inner of the two ties is bent so that the knot looks more like a letter A. Wire-line drapery, with dotted ends. The bird's neck is bent back.

Rev. There are dots where the branches of the tree join the trunk. The animal's fore-leg is elaborately modelled. Its tail is apparently very small.

(a) 13.4 gr. *Hunter*. 96. Before c. 1785.

- *24. *Obv.* Head in the same style as no. 23. The drapery is obscure, but is apparently composed of wire lines only. The bird holds its neck straight.

Rev. Similar in style to no. 23. The animal has a large ear; and a short, curved tail with a dot at the end. The tree is smaller and has single dots for leaves, and there are dots where the branches join the trunk.

(a) 16.4 gr. *BMC* 180. Before 1838. Badly centred on flan.

- *25. *Obv.* The drapery is in the tripartite style of group C-D. The eye, the modelling of the face, the ear, and the treatment of the hair are all appropriate to group A-B. The bird is similar to that on no. 24, and there are perhaps also similarities in the drapery.

Rev. Animal with pointed ear, and short, curved tail. Groups of 3 dots to represent leaves.

(a) 14.8 gr. R. P. Mack, ex Lockett 259, evidently the same coin as one formerly in the Londesborough collection, found near Oxford. *Coll. Ant.* vol. ii, p. 108, and pl. XLIV, 2.

- *26. *Obv.* Very large head, with single dotted eye, and wire line drapery. The area between the ties of the diadem is cross-hatched, i.e. it seems to have been misunderstood. The bird looks upwards.
Rev. Animal with large ear; open mouth, biting a fruit from the tree; curled tail. There is in one case a group of 3 dots to represent the leaves of the tree; there are no dots where the branches join the trunk; the branch from which the animal is biting the fruit is curved as though it is being pulled down.

It is questionable whether this coin belongs with the main series. The biting of the fruit may relate it to the 'bird in vine' obverse of *BMC* Type 7.

(a) 16.4 gr. *Hunter*. 95. Pedigree uncertain, but possibly from Hunter's collection.

GROUP E-F: TYPE 32a

The proximity of style between no. 30 (= E) and coin F (*BMC* Type 18) is much closer than that between any except no. 27 of the other coins which have been tentatively arranged here, largely on the strength of the torque, which is not found in groups A-B or C-D.

- *27. *Obv.* Cross-sceptre, held perhaps by a hand, although there is little trace of a thumb. The nose is cut off by a straight horizontal line, and the tip is pointed; this is a detail which apparently links the die with coins E and F. The neck is shown, rather than a bob of hair; cf. *BMC* 101. The lips are extremely similar to those on coin F, which is generally similar in style. The ties of the diadem are obscure, but in any case very small.

Rev. The wolf's head has a wide gape, but the jaws are parallel with each other. The tongue curls downwards and ends in a dot. The wolf- or serpent-tail curves outwards at its tip. Between the wolf and the outer dotted border there is a wire torque, facing the opposite way; it too curves outwards at its tip, symmetrically with the other tip. At the other end of the torque is an elegantly-engraved wolf's-head.

(a) 16.1 gr. Ashmolean (Evans bequest).

- *28. *Obv.* Large, tall bust with 'shawl' drapery, hand holding cross-sceptre, and long ties with an awkward knot, which is laterally reversed. The treatment of the nose and forehead suggest that they are copied (although not very skilfully) from a group A-B obverse. The face is deeply modelled, and apparently showed the eye in an almond-shaped outline, and also the ear, but these details have been obscured either by wear or by a developing weakness in the die.

Rev. Laterally reversed. Large wolf's head, with wide gape, somewhat as on no. 27, but the jaws are not parallel. Teeth are indicated by 5 dots in the upper jaw. The muzzle and fangs are marked by prominent serif-like lines. The tongue curls upwards and ends in a dot (cf. no. 27). Large pointed ear. There is a wolf-headed torque very much as on no. 27, but it is not facing the opposite way. The outer dotted border is uneven and the reverse die is much smaller than the obverse die.

(a) 17.2 gr. *BMC* 154. Before 1838. Possibly plated?

- *29. *Obv.* The modelling of the head and neck is similar to that on no. 27. The hand holds a cross-sceptre (the dot at the bottom of the cross is indistinct). The knot of the ties is blundered. The drapery consists of two side panels, each with a dotted line between two wire lines; in the centre are two similar (but shorter) panels arranged as a V, with a horizontal line joining them at the top. The side-panels are joined by a curve which forms the neckline.

Rev. Similar to no. 28, but the wolf's head is not reversed, and is smaller. Small ear; the tongue is curved downwards and ends in a dot. Wire torque with wolf's head at each end.

(a) 14.5 gr. Ashmolean, found at Shakenoak, Wilcote, near Witney, 1967.

GROUP E-F: TYPE 33

- *30. *Obv.* Elegant style, discussed above as coin E.

Rev. Laterally reversed, but the design is closely based on no. 7, as may be seen for example from the way in which the muzzle or fangs are drawn. The neck is shown as 3 hatched triangles, again as on no. 7. The tongue curves upwards, over the muzzle, behind the upper jaw and down, to end in a large, outlined tip. The ear is in the same style as the tip of the tongue, and there are 3 small dots inside it. There are (?)9 teeth in the upper jaw and (?)6 in the lower. There are numerous dots in the field.

It is open to question whether this die could be by the same hand as the reverse of no. 7, as it is so similar to it. The style, however, seems to be different, e.g. the flatter treatment of the ear and tongue, and the dots in the field; and there is a large dot part-way along the tip of the tongue, which perhaps reproduces the dotted tip of the tongue on the prototype. Since the design is, in addition, laterally reversed, we submit that this is a sensitive imitation of no. 7 or a related die.

(a) 15.5 gr. BMC 160. Thames hoard.

COINS NOT ASSIGNED TO A GROUP: TYPE 32a

(i) coins apparently intermediate between groups A-B and C-D

31. *Obv.* Design appropriate to group A-B; style of group C-D? The central panel of drapery seems to be horizontally hatched right to the top. The eye is bold; the lips are large.

Rev. Design appropriate to C-D, but laterally reversed. The style of the wolf's head is perhaps more like that found in group E-F. Tongue curls upwards.

(a) 16.3 gr. *Fitzw.* 255, ex Battely, found at Reculver.

32. *Obv.* Extremely similar to no. 31. Dot for chin.

Rev. Very similar to no. 31.

(a) 16.4 gr. BM 263 (Barnett bequest).

(ii) coins related to group A-B, no. 14

- *33. *Obv.* Linear, 'shawl' drapery. Cross-sceptre? Obscure, but the head may be close in style to no. 14. Double dotted border above head.

Rev. Extremely similar to no. 14, except that the wolf's tongue ends in a group of 3 dots.

This coin is almost certainly plated, yet the reverse die is to every appearance by the same hand as that of no. 14. It thus raises difficult questions: did the 'official' series include a proportion of plated coins?—or were dies occasionally misappropriated, or re-used at a date when the quality of the sceat coinage had declined? We beg the questions by describing this as a 'reproduction' of a group A-B coin. *Post scriptum.* The results of analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, which are to be published elsewhere, show that this coin is in fact of good silver, in spite of the 'flaking' of its surface.

(a) 16.0 gr. Ashmolean ex Bodleian Library. Oman catalogue no. 20 (1894).

- *34. *Obv.* Copy of E-F or 'London'-style head, with drapery somewhat as on no. 26, but separate short lines with dotted ends. Unintelligible inscription, $\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon\Delta$. No cross or cross-sceptre.

Rev. Laterally reversed, and in a slightly coarser style, but a very exact copy of no. 33 or a similar die. Note the tongue ending in 3 dots.

(a) 17.4 gr. BMC 152. Thames hoard. Base silver.

(iii) coins related to group E-F

- *35. *Obv.* Copy of E-F or 'London'-style head, closest, perhaps, to no. 29. Cross-sceptre; blundered ties; rounded drapery as on no. 27.

Rev. Wolf's head very similar to that on no. 27. The tongue and torque have degenerated into a pattern of lines with dotted ends.

The low weight and northern provenance support the view that this is an imitative piece. It has captured the style represented by no. 27 quite exactly.

(a) 9.1 gr. BM, from the Hon. Mrs. Tatton Willoughby, ex Whitby excavations.

- *36. *Obv.* Very similar to no. 35, with slightly smaller and narrower head. Hand (as on no. 35) holding cross-sceptre. Only the two dotted ends of the ties can be seen clearly, but the knot seems to be of the same shape as on no. 35. The drapery is obscure, but there is apparently a band of ornament to mark the arm, as on no. 19. Two faint dots mark the lips.

Rev. Laterally reversed wolf-serpent, with wide gape and parallel jaws, as on nos. 35 and 37. The lower jaw is 'seriffed'. The serpent's body is composed of dots, and is re-curved towards the tail. There is apparently no ear. The wolf-serpent is surrounded by a wire line, which is obscure in front of the head, but which is probably a torque, with a small animal's head at the right end (two faint dots represent the ears?), and plain at the left end: cf. no. 28. The tongue curls downwards, as on no. 27. Outer border of fine dots.

This coin is perhaps by the same hand as no. 35.

(a) 15.1 gr. C. E. Blunt. Base metal.

(iv) Type 32b

- *37. *Obv.* Laterally reversed bust, with short nose, pointed chin and conspicuous ear. The style of drapery suggests group E-F as the prototype. The hand and cross are omitted from the design, and the field is occupied by 3 rosettes, of which 2 are in front of the head and one behind. They consist of 8 dots around a larger central dot.

Rev. Laterally reversed wolf-serpent, surrounded by a wire torque. Closest in style to no. 29; wolf with wide gape. The tongue, however, curls upwards.

This extremely interesting coin is matched in style by a specimen of Type 16, now in the Glasgow cabinet (pl. VII, G). The rosettes on BMC Types 39 (pl. VII, H) afford an obvious parallel. These types are localized, occurring especially at Southampton, and the question is whether no. 36 could be a copy made in Hamwih or in Wessex, at a date when Type 39 was already current.

(a) 14.3 gr. BMC 156. Before 1838.

(v) poor copies of Type 32a

- *38. *Obv.* Poorly modelled head; hand holds cross-sceptre; the outer tie is straight.
Rev. Laterally reversed. The wolf's tongue is knotted. The 'serpent'-tail is reduced to a wire line, of the same thickness as the tongue, with which it forms an interlace pattern.
 (a) 14.2 gr. BM (Barnett bequest) 264. This coin or no. 32 is reported by Sutherland (NC 1942) as a Southampton find.
- *39. *Obv.* Coarse copy of style C-D (curved line of brow and nose; semi-circular outline of drapery). Cross. No hand or ties visible.
Rev. Laterally reversed, with traces of wire torque around the wolf-serpent (therefore probably related to E-F). The wolf's upper jaw is apparently replaced by a beak. The lower jaw is a line ending in a large dot. The tongue curls upwards.
 (a) Ashmolean cast collection, marked 'The Hague. 0.8 gm.'
- *40. *Obv.* Copy, perhaps in 'Wodan/monster' style, of group A-B. Zig-zag line for hair, and blundered ties.
Rev. Copy of group A-B.
 (a) de Belfort, *Monnaies mérovingiennes* 5786, stating that 12 examples had been found at Domburg. The illustration is evidently taken from Rethaan-Macaré, vol. i (which was not available to us at the time of writing) since it is reproduced by Lelewel in 1851, as well as by Van der Chijs (pl. iv, 33). The type is absent from de Man's *Catalogus* of 1907.

COINS NOT ASSIGNED TO A GROUP: TYPE 33

- *41. *Obv.* Small head, poorly modelled. Faint traces of hair above the line representing the diadem. Semicircular dotted outline of drapery; horizontal hatching in central portion, evidently modelled on group C-D. Cross-sceptre.
Rev. Small, round head, looking much the same as that on the obverse. The curled-back tongue, the hatched triangles for the neck, and the group of dots above the nose, are all clearly copied from a coin of group C-D like no. 7. A (?) cross-sceptre has been added in front of the wolf.
 (a) 14.5 gr. BMC 159. Thames hoard. Base silver.

COINS NOT ASSIGNED TO A GROUP: TYPE 42

- *42. *Obv.* Indistinct head, uncertain object in front, possibly a cross. Blundered ties.
Rev. (?)Horned animal, looking forward; long tail curled over back. Tree with two drooping branches, undotted. Several dots in field below animal.
 (a) 11.5 gr. Belfort 5781, citing Rethaan-Macaré ii, p. 49, and pl. ii, 14. Found at Domburg. Now in the Zeeuws Museum, inv. no. Domburg 195.
- *43. *Obv.* Traces of dotted border. Central design scraped away.
Rev. Animal walking to right, and looking forward. Tree. Cross to right (= 'H-shaped tree'). Groups of dots in field.
 (a) 8.5 gr. Ashmolean, ex Bodleian Library.
- *44. *Obv.* Head without hair. The nose is modelled as part of the face. Large bird, looking back.
Rev. Animal biting fruit. Tree with branches at right angles. Short curved tail, attached low down. The surface of the reverse is slightly convex.
 (a) Lockett 260, ex Grantley; cast in Ashmolean cast collection labelled 'ex L. A. Lawrence coll.' We are not altogether satisfied that this is an eighth-century production.



A



B



C



D



E



F



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2



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4



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6



7



9



11



12



14



15



16



19



23



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ON AN ALLEGED PENNY OF LUDICA, KING OF MERCIA 825-7

By C. E. BLUNT and MICHAEL DOLLEY

In a paper entitled 'The Coinage of Southern England, 796-840', the few surviving coins of Ludica, king of Mercia 825-7, were listed.¹ These consisted of three pennies, and a fragment the attribution of which was somewhat doubtful. Unknown to the writers there was lying in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum a coin, closely resembling the variety in the nearby Hunterian Museum, which latter is the one frequently illustrated from the time of Speed onwards.²



The enlarged photograph shown above, which was supplied by courtesy of the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum and is taken from the original makes detailed description of the type unnecessary. The weight is 22·8 gr.

Though closely resembling the Hunter specimen, the new coin is not from the same dies. Naturally the unexpected discovery of so great a rarity in a museum that has a relatively modest coin collection raises the question of authenticity. Mr. J. G. Scott, Curator of the Department of Archaeology, Ethnography and History, has most kindly made extensive enquiries on our behalf to try and establish how it came to the Museum.

The coins in their collection came to them, as far as he can trace, from the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College which has now become the University of Strathclyde. The Technical College was in turn the successor to Anderson's University, set up by Professor John Anderson of Glasgow University as an experiment in what we would now call extra-mural education. From c.1760 onwards Professor Anderson seems to have begun to amass

¹ *BNJ.* XXXII, p. 63.

² E.g. in his *History of Great Britaine*, 1623 edition, p. 255; in Camden's *Britannia*, 1695 edition,

pl. V, 16; and in Fountaine's *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica* etc. (1705) pl. VIII, 1.

a teaching collection which eventually grew into the Andersonian Museum, probably in its own building from c.1798. Through the kindness of Mr. Geo. P. Richardson, Registrar of the University of Strathclyde, Mr. Scott was able to examine a photo-copy of the manuscript Catalogue of Coins in Anderson's Museum in 1875. The only coins in this list likely to be pre-conquest are described as 'Ancient Irish', 'St. Edmund' and 'Canute', one of each. It seems clear therefore that the coin of Ludica was not then in the cabinet: its identification could have presented no problem since it is described in the first edition of Hawkins' *Silver Coins*, the standard work of reference at the time, and the reader is there referred to the illustration of the Hunter specimen in Ruding's *Annals*. What seemed, therefore, a promising possibility of taking the new coin back to the 18th century failed.

Coins allegedly of Ludica were not infrequent in 18th and early 19th century sales. Mrs. Martin of the British Museum has kindly supplied us with the following references:—

1773 West sale, type not mentioned. To Wilson, with two coins of Coenwulf for £8.8.0.

1773 Collector lately deceased. To Thane, with coins of Ethelred(1) and Edward the Confessor (2). £3.17.0. (Thane was the son-in-law of Snelling and, like him, a dealer. No coin of Ludica was in his sale in 1819).

1779 Gerard sale, type not mentioned. To Hill for 11/—.

1791 King sale, type not mentioned. To Hodsol for £1.2.0. Hodsol's collection was bought by Tyssen in 1794, but the Ludica is not now in the Anglo-Saxon portion bought by the British Museum which suggests that it is false, as indeed does the price made.

1826 Thorpe and others sale. Type as the Hunter coin. Bought for 'money' for 10/—. The Wiglaf in the next lot was bought for £12 by Rich and is the specimen now in the British Museum (*BMC* 117) which is considered to be a cast of Lockett 389. The price of the Ludica suggests that it too is false, and unlike the Wiglaf was thought to be so at the time.

This line of enquiry seems equally abortive. One is therefore driven to judge the coin on its merits alone. It has been badly cleaned and consequently makes an unfavourable first impression but the same applies to its neighbours in the case, especially a Coenwulf of East Anglian type by the moneyer Lul, so that no doubt all were similarly treated at some time in the past. It certainly is not cast and gives the impression of having been struck, though the possibility of engraving cannot entirely be ruled out. Neither die is the same as the Hunter coin and the reverse die is not the same as any that Werbald used on his coinage in the name of Beornwulf. In the legends the points against the coin are the use of a G in place of a C in the king's name and, on the reverse, the blundering of the letter B in the moneyer's name. The curious placing of the letters MO in MONE corresponds closely with their placing on the Hunter coin and might be a cause of suspicion were it not that this seems an idiosyncrasy of this moneyer, cf. the Beornwulf coin of his in the British Museum (*BMC*, pl. IX, 13). The blundering of the B is however more serious. If the coin is a forgery, it must be copying the Hunter specimen. Now it is just at this point that the latter exhibits a lack of definition which could lead astray the too blind copyist. The illustration in the Glasgow *Sylloge* volume, no. 354, brings this out clearly and an imitator might well be at a loss to know exactly what the original was intended to be. The inner circle on the obverse is linear, whereas on the Hunter coin it is dotted. But what must be most significant is the form of the letters. The dies for Ludica's coinage show evidence that they were engraved and not punch-stamped. Careful examination of certain of the letters on the new coin shows what appear to be attempts to reproduce a punch-made die. The ES in REX, ME and MONE are all made up of a distinct vertical element and three generally wedge-shaped horizontals, in one or two cases detached

from the vertical as is so often the case with punch-made dies. Similarly the R in REX appears to be made up of three separate elements as it would be with a punch-made die. Compare these letters with those on the Hunter coin and the differences will be immediately apparent.

This we believe to be the decisive evidence that this coin, of which, when we had once got over its unattractive appearance, we were beginning to have high hopes, is in fact a modern—i.e. probably 19th cent.—fabrication. We reach this conclusion with the greatest regret, because nothing would have given us greater pleasure than to be able to add a further specimen to the short list of coins of Ludica and to be able to assure Mr. Scott, who has been to so much trouble on our behalf, that he had in his care a treasure fit to rival the specimen on the hill at the nearby university.

Mr. Ian Stewart, who had also seen the coin and wondered like us whether it might not be genuine, has now examined the enlarged photograph and shares our view in this matter.

A FOURTH FIND OF NINTH-CENTURY COINS FROM IRELAND?

By MICHAEL DOLLEY

ATTENTION has been drawn recently to the paucity of Viking-age coin-hoards from Ireland that can be shown to have been concealed before c. 900. The only discoveries of consequence would appear to be the c. 1874 find from Delgany in Co. Wicklow, the 1871 find from Mullaghboden in the adjacent Co. Kildare, and the much more shadowy 1849 find from Cushendall in Co. Antrim.¹ A doubt even exists concerning the circumstances of the discovery of the first of these hoards, a very substantial parcel of early Anglo-Saxon pence, with just the one Papal coin, which appear to have been brought together somewhere about the year 830. The much smaller Mullaghboden hoard appears to have consisted entirely of Carolingian *denarii*, and has been linked with the movements of the Westfaldings after they had abandoned their base at Noirmoutiers, so that a date of concealment c. 847 would seem unlikely to be wide of the mark by more than a year or so. In the case of the find from Cushendall, no more than two coins may have been involved, and there would appear no good reason for us to date their loss much after the middle of the ninth century. The position as regards single-finds is just as exiguous, and it is interesting to recall scepticism voiced in more than one quarter concerning the alleged discovery in Ireland of a penny of Ceolwulf II, *SCBI* Hunter 381, this somewhat improbable provenance resting on no more secure a foundation than the caption of a plate put out, in at least two states, by the notorious White.²

The purpose of this paper is to put on record a little group of six coins of Burgred (3), Æthelred I (1) and Ælfred (2) which the writer has been fortunate enough to come across in one of the cabinets of the National Museum of Ireland. The six coins in question probably derive from the Royal Irish Academy cabinet expropriated in 1886, and until now have been kept apart from the main Saxon portion of the consolidated collections. They are notably base, and in poor condition, and before scientific treatment cannot be illustrated satisfactorily by direct photography. However, the leading English authority on the issues in question,³ H. E. Pagan Esq., of Christ Church, Oxford, has been kind enough to agree with me the readings and identifications which are here offered, it having been possible to supply him with working casts kindly produced by S. E. Rees-Jones Esq., of the Conservation Laboratory of the Archaeology Department of the Queen's University of Belfast, from my own rather amateurish impressions in plasticine. That the coins necessarily all derive from the one find need not be inferred, of course, from the common provenance, but seems strongly indicated by the uniform patination, and also by the fact that the six coins were struck within a very few years of one another. That they represent, too, a parcel from, if not the whole of, an unpublished find, and one that is presumptively Irish, may be thought to be suggested by the remarkable circumstance that we are afforded what seems an entirely new moneyer for Burgred, not to mention a moneyer completely unpublished for Ælfred.

¹ *SCBI* BM H/N, p. 20 etc.

² *BNJ* XXXII (1963), pp. 88-90.

³ *Ibid.* XXXIV (1965), pp. 11-27.

A list of the six coins is as follows:—

- (1) BURGRED, North 425, *BMC* var. c, broken lunettes, 'Leofnald'.

The coin is struck on the broad flan typical of Burgred's coins put in issue before c. 871. The portrait is characteristically 'horizontal', and the cross-bars on the reverse are beaded. Unusual details include an 'x' formed of a Latin cross with a pellet in each angle, and the treatment of the drapery on the bust where five pellets are disposed in pairs on each shoulder with a single one on the breast. On the reverse the first 'o' in the legend is, exceptionally, square, but the second round though, again quite exceptionally, superscript. The serious chipping occurs on the reverse at the righthand margin, but there seems little doubt that the moneyer's name is to be read LEOFNALD, the last two letters beginning the top line. A difficulty is that no name Leofnald seems known, and it is not easy to accept the existence of a deuterotherme *-nald*. The obvious contender for the distinction of having struck this coin would be Liafwald or Liofwald who is a Burgred moneyer. However, Mr. Pagan has argued cogently that this particular variety of North 425 belongs before c. 868, and even an anomalous coin such as the piece under consideration is probably to be dated late within that bracket but no later. The coins of Burgred of Liafwald/Liofwald, on the other hand, belong after 871, and significantly he is also a moneyer of Ceolwulf II. Moreover, Liafwald/Liofwald is not known to have used the spelling Leof-, a spelling, indeed, which seems new where ninth-century coins are concerned. All in all, then, there may seem much to be said for simply transliterating the name of the moneyer of the new coin in the National Museum, and employing inverted commas to indicate awareness of the very serious philological objections to the resulting form. The various minor anomalies of style coupled with the anomalous spelling of the moneyer's name could mean that this coin is not a product of the regular mint, London, at which the great majority of Burgred's coins were in fact struck, but for the present there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to make out a watertight case for the extant coins of Burgred emanating from more than one mint.

- (2) BURGRED, North 423, *BMC* var. a, unbroken lunettes, Tidhelm.

Again the coin is struck on the broad flan that distinguishes Burgred's coins issued before c. 871. The bust is typically 'vertical', the cross-bars on the reverse are beaded, and in other respects the coin is ordinary enough. It should be noted that coins of this common moneyer, cf. *SCBI* Copenhagen 77, appear in the *BMC* under Adhelm, presumably for Eadhelm, but this unhappy suggestion should have been prevented by the earlier publication of a coin in the Croydon hoard to be read TIDEHELM, for any spelling ADEHELM courts immediate suspicion. Curiously, too, italicized *Tidehelm* actually appears on p. 46 of the *BMC*. The mint may be assumed to be London.

- (3) BURGRED, North 423, *BMC* var. a, unbroken lunettes, Tidhelm.

The coin is comparable in every way to the preceding piece, the variations being minimal. Instead of BVRGREDREXM, it appears to read BVRGREDRE-X, and on the reverse the cross-bars are plain, while 'A' is barred and 'N' not reversed. The cuprous patination is less marked, and the coin has a rather more pewterish appearance than its fellows. A feature is the ragged triangular perforation more or less at the centre of the flan. Once more the mint can be taken to be London.

- (4) ÆTHELRED I, North 622, *BMC* i, unbroken lunettes, Ethelred.

The style of the coin is typical for the pence of this king, and divergent enough from that of contemporary coins of Burgred for us to assign the coins of the two brothers-in-law to

different mints. The cross-bars on the reverse are plain, and there is a general correspondence with *BMC* 24–26. The moneyer Ethelred is not known to have struck for the Mercian king, but since he had struck for Æthelbearht, and, spelling his name now Ethelred, was to strike for Ælfred and for Archbishop Æthelred of Canterbury, seems certainly to be associated with the mint of Canterbury, and it is to Canterbury that this coin should almost certainly be assigned.

(5) ÆLFRED, North 625, *BMC* i, unbroken lunettes, Bosa.

The coin is particularly badly chipped, but seems to be comparable in every way to *BMC* 160 and *SCBI* Hunter 561 (*ex* Coats). It is struck on a notably smaller flan, and again the mint may be assumed to be Canterbury, partly because of style and partly because the moneyer is not known for either Burgred or Ceolwulf II. A date later than *c.* 874 seems unlikely.

(6) ÆLFRED, North 625, *BMC* i, unbroken lunettes, Dealinc.

The obverse of the coin is rendered indistinct by corrosion, but sufficient can be seen for one to say with confidence that it is of 'horizontal' style, the lettering more than bearing out the little that can be observed concerning the portrait. In the same way, the style of the reverse is that which Mr. Pagan has observed to be particularly associated with coins of Burgred with a 'vertical' style of bust, the most obvious criterion being the group of three pellets in each of the corners of the lunettes, though the lettering also is distinctive. That the coin is in consequence a 'mule' of two styles is not at all unexpected, though as it happens the only coin recorded in detail of Dealinc for Burgred is of 'vertical' style on both sides. In the mint shared by Burgred and Ælfred, London beyond all question, dies of the two schools seem inextricably linked, and even a chronological sequence cannot well be established, let alone sustained, though in the case of the coin in Dublin a date nearer 874 than 871 does seem likely. As already observed, no more than one coin of Burgred (*BMC* 139) by this moneyer is available for inspection, though there was what appears to be a second specimen inadequately described in the 1860 Dunsforth find, while Dealinc is known as a moneyer of Ceolwulf II (*supra*, p. 32).

In the above parcel of six coins there is no coin which need be supposed to have been in currency more than a year or two at most before 868, and no coin likely to have been struck after 874, though one penny is unlikely to have been produced very much earlier. There is every likelihood, then, that the coins in fact derive from a single hoard concealed *c.* 875. The provenance must suggest Ireland, and there is one crumb of evidence which hints at Leinster, and possibly Wicklow. As Mr. Pagan has reminded me, Dr. C. B. Scott, a distinguished nineteenth-century headmaster of Westminster School, included a penny, apparently since stolen, of Burgred by the moneyer Dudwine, when listing coins from 'finds in Wicklow and Meath' which he presented to the school's collection.¹ The other pieces in his listing are firmly associated with the early ninth-century hoard from Delgany and the mid-tenth-century hoard from Killyon Manor, and in 1962 it was natural to regard the missing Burgred as an interloper. However, now that there is reason to think that Burgred coins in fact may have been found in Ireland some years before 1886, Scott's 1876 testimony may be considered to take on a new significance. Interestingly, Dudwine is a Burgred moneyer from precisely the period *c.* 870 which would be consistent with the little group of coins in

¹ *Ibid.* XXXI (1962), pp. 11–26.

the National Museum. Scott, a man of Irish descent who knew his Ireland and was friendly with Sir John Evans, one of England's greatest numismatists, is unlikely lightly to have claimed that his Burgred was from 'finds in Wicklow and Meath', and my own opinion inclines to the view that it came from an unrecorded hoard from Wicklow rather than Meath. It is only in the tenth century that we begin to have Viking coin-hoards from the Boyne basin, and in any event a Burgred would be much more likely to have passed unremarked in the rather heterogeneous company afforded by the parcel from Delgany, rather than in the tenth-century hoard where there is so much greater uniformity of type with the portrait coin very much the exception instead of the rule.

Provisionally, then, the little group of six coins in the National Museum of Ireland may be reckoned to represent part if not the whole of an otherwise unrecorded find from Ireland. If this hypothesis be accepted, possessors of interleaved copies of the *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* may perhaps find useful the following summary:—

IRELAND, unknown site (Leinster?), c. 1870 (?).

6 + (?) Æ Anglo-Saxon pennies.

Deposit: c. 875.

MERCIA: Burgred, *BMC(A)* type *a*—Tidhelm, 2; type *c*—'Leofnald', 1.

WESSEX: Æthelred I, *BMC(A)* type *i*—Ethelred, 1. Ælfred, *BMC(A)* type *i* Bosa, 1; Dealinc, 1.

R. H. M. Dolley, *BNJ* XXXVI (1967), pp. 32–35.

Disposition: the above six coins are in the National Museum of Ireland; a seventh (Burgred, *BMC(A)* type *a* or *d*—Dudwine) formerly in the cabinet at Westminster School may well have been from this find.

It only remains for me to thank Dr. William O'Sullivan, M.R.I.A., of the National Museum of Ireland, for every facility afforded for the study of the collections there, and for obtaining permission for me to publish this present note, and Mr. Hugh Pagan of Christ Church, Oxford, who was good enough to read a preliminary draft and to offer most valuable suggestions and comments. Naturally, though, responsibility for any and all of the opinions expressed attaches to neither of these gentlemen but to the author alone.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER, HOARD OF 1862

By R. P. MACK

I HAVE recently acquired a small parcel of Saxon coins from the St. John's Church, Chester, Hoard of 1862. In an article in the *Chester Archaeological and Historical Society's Journal* of 1864 Mr. Thomas Hughes describes how this hoard was discovered on March 4th 1862 by workmen excavating for a new vestibule outside the west end of St. John's Church, Chester. He states that the workmen came across a series of cruciform slabs lying side by side and forming the original floor of the nave. Whilst displacing the ancient interments beneath, the men discovered a mass of broken stones, under which, at a depth of nearly 16 feet from the surface lay a heap of coins¹. There were probably about 40 originally but many appear to have been broken by rough handling and being taken for Nuremberg tokens little importance was attached to the find. Eventually 'not more than 20 at the most' could be traced and these in many different hands. Five were secured by the Rev. W. B. Marsden, vicar of the parish. Hughes states that with the help of a Mr. John Peacock 10 of the more important coins were collected from various holders for exhibition before the Chester Archaeological Society and that Peacock also 'ingeniously framed them between two sheets of glass'. I have in my possession the glass and cardboard but with holes cut for 16 coins and an inscription in Peacock's handwriting as follows:—

'Found outside the West End of St. John's Church, Chester, March 4th 1862. Supposed to be the original coins from under the foundation stone of the Saxon Building which existed prior to the erection of the present Norman structure'.

Unfortunately Peacock glued the coins to the glass and many had glue still adhering to them. This has now been skilfully removed by Mr. Howes of the British Museum and the coins cleaned but it is thought that one or two may have suffered damage when they were originally taken off the glass. Peacock also drew 17 of the coins to illustrate Hughes's paper and these appear on 3 plates in the Society's *Journal*.

In the present parcel 3 of the 17 coins illustrated in Hughes's paper are missing but there is one additional coin, the WLFSGE building type of Edward the Elder, No. 7 below.

It was originally intended that this parcel of coins should go to the Chester Museum and there is a letter in Mr. Blunt's possession dated June 10th 1866 from Thomas Hughes to Jonathan Rashleigh in which Hughes, who was one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Society, states that the coins were to be transferred to the Chester Archaeological Society immediately on the completion and opening of the new Museum. In a torn portion of another letter in Hughes's handwriting, also in Mr. Blunt's possession, he says 'the coin you name, with one or two others of the St. John's find, although destined to belong to the local Society has, owing to the decease of the former possessor and the non-arrangement of his affairs, not yet been handed over to us.' This letter is also presumably to Jonathan Rashleigh but it is not known to whom it refers.

The coins never reached the Chester Museum and they have lain in obscurity for about a century, until June 1966, when they were sold to a London dealer from whom I was fortunate

¹ See also *Gentlemen's Magazine* Vol. ccxiii p. 58 (July 1862) where the depth of 16 feet is confirmed. I am indebted to Miss M. M. Archibald for kindly looking up this reference for me.

enough to obtain them. It appears that at some time after their discovery this parcel of coins was collected together from various sources and it had remained in the same family ever since, until sold to the London dealer by a descendant who unfortunately could produce no further information concerning the hoard, nor did she know anything about the three missing coins.

The hoard is included in J. D. A. Thompson's *Inventory of Coin Hoards* as No. 83 but Thompson is wrong in saying the coins were 'probably now in the Chester Museum'. Also the 'one half-penny' by moneyer VVLFSGE is in fact a fragment of a penny.

Of the 15 coins comprising the parcel, 6 are of Edward the Elder, 6 of St. Peter of York, 1 St. Edmund Memorial Coinage and 2 uncertain coins, temp. Edward the Elder and presumably struck at York. These last two, one of which is broken, have much in common with *BMC* (A) Type II of Edward the Elder with three crosses between the 2 lines of the obverse legend. Three crosses between lines of obverse legend do not occur on any coin of St. Peter struck at York although 2 crosses and one pellet are known, *vide* No. 11 below. The obverse lettering, which is unintelligible, is not unlike that on the reverse of many of the portrait type of Edward the Elder, mostly from the Vatican hoard (See *BNJ* 1964, pp. 25-26, Nos. 455-62 and 466-69) but in style more closely resembles the lettering on the St. Peter coins of York.

Rashleigh, in his remarks on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon kings of Northumberland¹ attributes these 2 coins to Neil who, he says, is supposed to have reigned in Northumbria after the death of Alwald, c. 910-914, assuming the last letter of the first line of the obverse legend, which is in fact an ill-formed I, to be an L, thus making the reading ILEIL. But Rashleigh had not seen the coins and based his attribution on Peacock's sketch in the *Chester Archaeological Journal* where the last letter of the first line of the obverse legend is shown as an L. The attribution of these coins to the nebulous Neil, based as it is on an ill-formed I, must be discounted. From the style of lettering it seems probable that they were struck at York sometime during the reign of Edward the Elder.

The St. Edmund Memorial coin in the parcel is of light weight and has every appearance of being a late one. It was probably struck c. 905. The absence of any sword type of St. Peter, *BMC* (A) Type I, which is generally assumed to be the last type and struck sometime after about 920², would indicate that the hoard was buried before this type was in circulation. Edward the Elder came to the throne about 900 and died in 925. The date of issue of his *BMC* (A) Type 2 is not certain but probably continued throughout most of the reign. The date of the building and hand coins is uncertain. It seems probable that the date of deposit of this hoard was c. 920.

Although no mint name appears on any of the known coins of the building, flower and hand types of Edward the Elder, it has generally been thought that these types were the product of the Chester mint. That 2 building and 1 hand type are included in the surviving coins of this hoard tends to confirm this.

In the following list I have included all the recorded coins from the hoard, including the 3 illustrated by Hughes in the *Chester Archaeological Journal* and now missing from this parcel. Hughes' numbers in brackets follow my number. All fifteen coins in my possession are illustrated on pl. I.

My thanks are due to Mr. Blunt for all the help and advice he has given me over this short paper.

¹ *NCNS* IX, pp. 77-8.

² *Num. Chron.* 1957, pp. 123 ff.

EDWARD THE ELDER

BMC(A) Type II

- (1) (H.2) *Obv.* +EADVVEA (RD)REX
Rev. ()ADVOLD HO 19.4 grains (broken).

Originally acquired by the Rev. W. B. Marsden. Further reduced in size since Hughes's illustration.

- (2) (H.5) *Obv.* +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. DIORA MONE 21.7 grains.

Originally acquired by the Rev. W. B. Marsden.

- (3) (H.7) *Obv.* +EAD(VVEARD RE)X
Rev. VVLFS(I)GE MO — grains (broken).

The whereabouts of this coin is not known.

BMC(A) Type V

- (4) (H.1) *Obv.* +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. CVTFERI — grains.

Illustrated on page 85 of *BMC*. This coin cannot now be traced.

BMC(A) Type VI

- (5) (H.6) *Obv.* +EADVVEARD IE(X) Partly retrograde.
Rev. TD-IDIEN(rev. bar)EI 11.9 grains.

Originally acquired by the Rev. W. B. Marsden and then in 3 pieces. Now only the centre portion remains. Illustrated on page 85 of *BMC*. The moneyer's name is quite uncertain. The only other recorded specimen of this type is in the B.M. ex P. W. Carlyon-Britton, lot 955.

BMC(A) Type XI

- (6) (H.3) *Obv.* +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. EADRED M◇ 19.7 grains.

A new variety of this type with the hand pointing upwards. A new moneyer for the type.

BMC(A) Type XII

- (7) *Obv.* +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. VVLFSIGE 20.2 grains

A new reverse die for the type. Not included in Hughes's original list.

- (8) (H.4) *Obv.* +EADVVEARD REX
Rev. PALTER EO 22.8 grains

Three other specimens are known of this moneyer for the type, two in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh and the coin in B.M. ex Rashleigh, lot 240. One of the Edinburgh coins and the B.M. specimen are from the same dies as this.

ST. EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE

- (9) (H.8) *Obv.* +SCEAD
Rev. +CIPICE (partly retrograde) 16.5 grains.

This is a late issue of the St. Edmund coinage.

COINAGE OF ST. PETER AT YORK

BMC(A) Type V

- (10) (H.12) *Obv.* SCPETRM Object resembling a key above; 3 pellets between lines, 1 below.
Rev. +EB -O- RAC & 16.5 grains (slightly chipped).

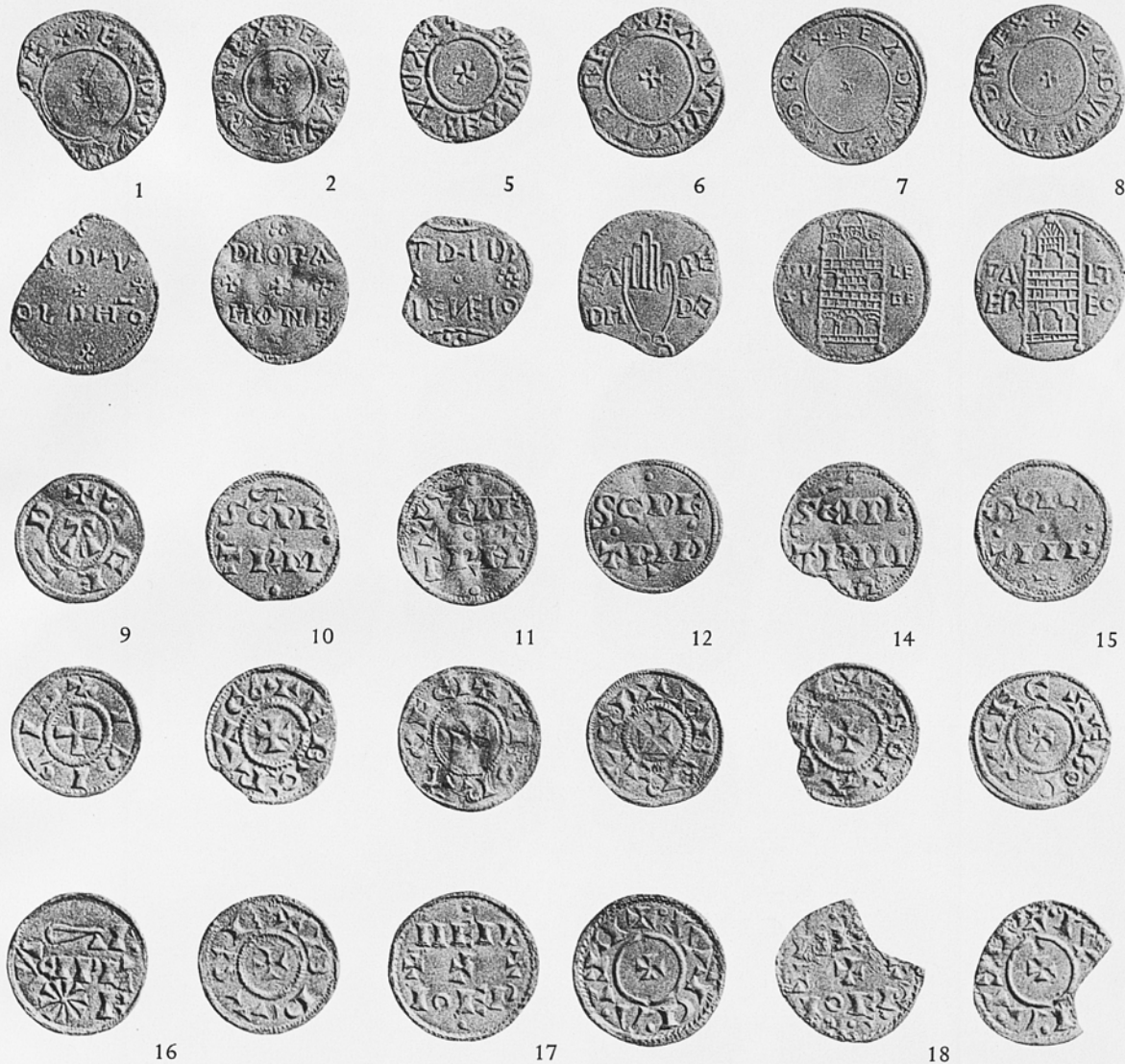
- | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------|----------------|--|
| (11) | (H.14) | <i>Obv.</i> | SCPETRNP(lig.) | Line and pellet above, 2 crosses and pellet between lines, 1 pellet below. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +EBORACECI | 17.6 grains |
| (12) | (H.9) | <i>Obv.</i> | SCPETRIP | One pellet above and 3 pellets between lines. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +EBORACI | 14.2 grains. |
| (13) | (H.10) | <i>Obv.</i> | SCIPITRIMO | Line and pellet above, 3 pellets between lines, 1 pellet below. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | EBOLACICO | - grains. |
- The whereabouts of this coin is not known.
- | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------|------------|--|
| (14) | (H.11) | <i>Obv.</i> | SCIPETRIII | Line and pellet above, 3 pellets between lines, s below. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +EBORACECI | 17.3 grains (chipped) |
| (15) | (H.16) | <i>Obv.</i> | SCIETHIP | 3 pellets between lines, 1 below. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +EBORACEC | 15.7 grains. |
| (16) | (H.15) | <i>Obv.</i> | SCIPLT | Object resembling a key and 1 above, star composed of 10 wedges with pellet in centre and R below. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +BRACE | 16.1 grains. |

An unrecorded variety.

Temp. Edward the Elder, York mint.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------|---------------|--|
| (17) | (H.17) | <i>Obv.</i> | HEIHIOEP | Pellet above and below, 3 crosses between lines. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +DCI.V.DCAI. | 19.3 grains. |
| (18) | (H.13) | <i>Obv.</i> | HE(H)IOEP | Pellet above and below, 3 crosses between lines. |
| | | <i>Rev.</i> | +DCI.V.D(C)AI | 12.2 grains (fragment). |

From the same reverse die as No. 17 above. These two coins appear to be the only recorded examples of this variety.



THE CHESTER (1862) HOARD



OE *CHRISTÐEGN—AN UNSUSPECTED INSTANCE OF EARLY MIDDLE IRISH INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH NAME-GIVING

By MICHAEL DOLLEY

THERE is a small group of English pennies of the common 'two-line' type struck for Æthelstan (924–939), Eadmund (939–946), Eadred (946–955) and Eadgar (959–975) where the name of the moneyer (or moneyers) seems in each case to be the exceptional but perfectly acceptable OE *Christðegn†. The specimens known to the writer may be listed as follows:—

(1)	+ ÆDELZTAN R	∴	CRIS·	+ + +	TIGN	∴	<i>BMC</i> 101 <i>ex</i> Evans (1962) from the 1862 'Ireland' find of <i>NC</i> 1863, p. 50, no. 18.
(2)	+ EADMUND RE	∴	CRIZT·	+ + +	INMEO	∴	C. E. Blunt <i>ex</i> Ryan 769.
(3)	+ EADRED REX O	∴	CRIZT·	+ + +	INMEO	∴	C. E. Blunt <i>ex</i> Wills <i>ex</i> Walters (1934) 64.
(4)	+ EADRED RE +	∴	CRIZOT	+ + +	INMOE	∴	BM <i>ex</i> 1950 Chester T.T. no. 155.
(5)	+ EADRED REX O	∴	CRIZT	+ + +	INMEO	∴	Copenhagen <i>SCBI</i> 736 <i>ex</i> 1858 Sejrø find.
(6)	+ EADRED REX O	∴	CRIZT	+ + +	INMEO	∴	Paris, Bibl. Nat.
(7)	+ EADRED ER +	∴	CRIZT·	+ + +	INMEO	∴	Leningrad, Hermitage.
(8)	+ EADGAR RE	∴	+ RIS	+ + +	TAÑO	∴	Edinburgh <i>SCBI</i> 382 <i>ex</i> 1950 Iona T.T. no. 224.

The eight coins are illustrated on the accompanying plate [Plate II, 1–8], and it will be seen that there is no evidence of die-linking, except that coin 3 could be from the re-cut reverse die of coin 2. Concerning the attribution of the last coin there is possibly some room for doubt—not altogether to be precluded at this stage is the possibility that the coin is to be read FRIS | TAN (? for Frithestan) or even +PIS | TAN (? for Winstan, occasional omission of 'N' being fairly well-attested on coins of this period). As regards the remaining seven coins, though, those of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, there does seem to be a quite remarkable consistency where both prototheme and deutherotheme of the moneyer's name are concerned, and particularly to be stressed is the uniform use of 'i' as the vowel of both. Unfortunately not one of the pieces has a mint-signature, but on stylistic grounds all may be given with some assurance to a mint or mints in the northern part of England, and the general area of York and Lincoln might seem to be that which is indicated. In this connection it is perhaps relevant that in the last decade of the tenth century there is a Stamford moneyer whose name appears on quite a number of coins as CRISTGIN (for CRISTIGN), CRISDIN and CRISTIN (*cf.* Hildebrand 3457–3460). From *BMC* Æthelstan 85 (Monðign) and 137 (Monðegn) the interchangeability of 'i' and 'e' in the deutherotheme is especially apparent, and it will be one of the suggestions of this note that an OE personal name *Christðegn, a name which seems to be known only from coins, reflects in all probability an Englishing of the well-attested early Middle Irish Gillacríst (the modern Scottish Gilchrist).

† An asterisk preceding a name indicates that the normalized form is not independently recorded [*Edd.*]

To be stressed initially is the quite exceptional rarity of *Christ- as an OE prototheme. Searle in his *Onomasticon*, for example, records only the apparently arbitrarily normalized *Cristhegn and *Cristthin, appealing in each case to the coins of Eadred and of Æthelræd II—such names as Christian and Christina, in any case uncompounded, clearly are Continental in their origin as well as being comparatively late (*i.e. post 990*) in their first appearance. It may seem the more remarkable, too, that the only OE deutertheme ever to be found compounded with *Christ- should be -thegn, itself an element of some rarity, and especially where coins of the tenth century are concerned. As has already emerged, the first appearance of OE *Christðegn is on a penny of Æthelstan, which gives a *terminus post quem* of c. 925 for the particular compound, and it is interesting to note that neither *Christ- nor *-christ nor Thegn- occurs on coins prior to this date, while -thegn is confined to Northumbria, an area where Irish influences from the seventh century onwards were pronounced, and even there to the copper coins of one ninth-century king. Admittedly there has been a recent attempt to postulate the existence in southern England of an early ninth-century personal name *Christoba- on no better basis than a penny with the perfectly intelligible reverse legend +OBA—but to date there would seem to have been no serious answer to the claim that the *Christoba hypothesis was founded—and founders—on total ignorance of the most elementary principles alike of OE name-giving and of ninth-century numismatics.

The earliest appearance of the prototheme *Christ-, then, occurs in the second quarter of the tenth century, say c. 935, at a period when Hiberno-Norse influences in northern England were at their zenith. Nor is it difficult to demonstrate that these influences extended to the personal names of the moneyers at more than one of the English mints, and in particular of those at Chester and at York. Already under Æthelstan, for example, we find the name MÆLDOMEN at Chester (*cf. SCBI Chester 18, 19 & 65*), and this must surely represent early Middle Irish *Mael Domnaig (modern Irish Maoldhomhnaigh *cf. the surnames Moloney and Muldowney*), and it is not impossible that traces of the inflexion of the deutertheme are to be observed on a 'two-line' penny of Eadmund (*BMC 96 cf. BMC 97*) where the name of the moneyer appears as MÆLD | OMENĒ, though here it is just possible that the terminal vowel is to be read as a contraction of OE *myneþere*. Continuing at Chester we find under Eadgar a moneyer with the name MÆLSUDAN (*cf. SCBI 93, 94 & 107*) which can only be the early Middle Irish and well recorded Mael Suthain ('servant of Suthan'), the same deutertheme recurring at Chester under Cnut in the name MACSUDAN (*cf. Hildebrand 1416, BMC 290 etc.*) which is early Middle Irish *Mac Suthain ('son of Suthan'). The same reign and mint likewise have given us coins with what appears to be a genuine monothematic early Middle Irish name TROTAN (*cf. SCBI Chester 236 & 237, Hildebrand 1432 & 1433, BMC 294 & 295 etc.*). Dinncen in his *Dictionary*, too, remarks (p. 710) that '*giolla* replaces *maol* in the adopted Christian names of Irish Danes (*recte* Norsemen)', so that we are scarcely surprised to find at Chester under Harold I and Harthacnut coins of a moneyer whose name is rendered variously GILACRIS, GILLACRIS and GILLECRIST (*cf. SCBI Chester 267, Hildebrand Harold I 337-340, Harthacnut 76 etc.*). It seems impossible that this should not be the early Middle Irish Gillacríst ('follower of Christ'), a particularly well-attested name the sense of which exactly corresponds to that of our OE *Christðegn. There is some reason to suppose, too, that the *hapax* CILLE found on a Chester coin of Harold (Hildebrand 332) is for GILLE, and that this represents a hypocoristic form of the same name.

Before we leave Chester, moreover, mention should be made of certain coins of Eadred and Eadgar, and of a Howel who is perhaps still not quite certainly the Hywel Dda who died

in 949/950 even if Hywel ap Ieuaf (979–985) does seem just a little too late to be a serious competitor for the distinction of being the only Welsh king known to have struck coins. On these pence the moneyer's name takes the following forms:—

- GILLES (cf. Eadred, 1950 Chester T.T. no. 174 and unpublished coin apparently from same dies in Leeds City Museum *ex* Baron coll., 1854).
 GILLVS (cf. Eadgar, *BMC* 28 & 157: *SCBI* Chester I, 91 & 92; Copenhagen I, 774; Edinburgh 600; Hywel—unique coin in British Museum).
 GILVS (cf. Eadred, 1950 Chester T.T. nos. 175 & 260. Eadgar, *BMC* 158: 1950 Chester T.T. no. 482: *SCBI* Edinburgh 576)
 GVLLIS (cf. Eadgar, *SCBI* Edinburgh 632; Hildebrand 16 (Hereford)).

That the first three or four letters of this name represent the early Middle Irish Gilla (modern Irish Giolla) is surely beyond doubt, but there do seem to be grave objections to the prevalent if formally unvoiced assumption that we are dealing with a monothematic name with an ending *-es*, *-is*, *-us* or *-ys*. Indicative of such construction are, for example, the forms which appear in J. J. North's *English Hammered Coinage* where the OE genitival inflexion *-es*, occasionally found on coins of the tenth century, is fairly consistently recognized. For example, a spelling Othelrices is quite properly normalized Othelric. The obvious hypothesis would be that Gilles, Gillvs, Gilvs and Gullis represent attempts at Latinization, but against this can be objected (a) that the earliest forms include one in *-es*, while the *-us* ending is by no means unequivocal and could as well be read *-ys* (cf. here especially the form *-is*), and (b) that there is no evidence of Latinization of personal names on coins from this part of the country at this period. Also to be noted is the quite exceptional consistency of the spellings in vowel + s, and the total absence, hitherto at least, of the forms GILL or GILLE which one would have thought underlaid GILLES if the latter were really in the possessive case. To a genitival form, too, a particular objection is afforded by the occurrence of the spelling Gullis (Gyllis) on the 'reform' coin of Eadgar from the Hereford mint. It is the claim of this note that the spellings GILLES, GILLVS, GILVS and GVLLIS essay the nominative case of yet another dithematic early Middle Irish name, and that this is Gilla Ísu ('follower of Jesus', cf. Dinneen's citation (p. 536) of the Modern Irish Giolla Íosa).

From the above it may be thought undeniable that there was quite marked Hiberno-Norse influence where the moneyers' names on the tenth- and eleventh-century coins of Chester are concerned, and it may be that this influence is even more pronounced than might appear at first sight. There is for example an intriguing group of coins from the middle of the tenth century and from the Chester area where the moneyer's name appears to be a hypocorism followed by the diminutive suffix *-uc*. We may instance:—

- WINVC (cf. Eadmund, *BMC* 138: Eadred, *BMC* 88).
 INGVC(es) (cf. Eadred, *BMC* 62; *SCBI* Edinburgh 278).
 TEOTHVC (cf. Eadgar, *SCBI* Chester 97–99, Edinburgh 637 & 638).

It would seem to have been recognized for some time that the second element in these names corresponds to the OE diminutive suffix *-oc*, *-uc*, but it is suggested now that the consistency of the spelling *-uc* is remarkable, and no less the circumstance that in each case the proto-theme is most easily explained as a hypocorism, WIN, for example, representing a name compounded with winc- or less probably -wine, ING being presumably for Ingelric, a moneyer attested in the area at the material time, and TEOTH reflecting some name Theod-, though perhaps we should not entirely ignore the possibility of the ON monothematic name Tiot

which does occur at Chester under Æthelstan. OE *-oc*, *-uc*, Middle Welsh *-awc*, and early Middle Irish *-óc* seem all to go back to the same Britannie and ultimately Primitive Germanic hypocoristic suffix, and formally it does not seem possible to decide which has been responsible for these forms in *-uc*, and especially when Chester was so obviously susceptible to influences from Wales as well as from across the Irish Sea. On the other hand, it should be stressed that these incontrovertible forms in *-uc* are not found until the period when Hiberno-Norse influence was beginning to make itself felt, and then occur only at one point on the border with Wales. Had *-uc* been directly influenced by Middle Welsh *-awc*, one might have expected *-uc* names also to occur on coins struck at the Severn mints and in Devon, but it is a curious fact that the only other coins known to the writer where there is a possibility of this formation are from north-eastern England. They are the not all that common 'two-line' coins of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan by a moneyer Landuc ('Landac') exemplified by Vatican hoard 294 (Edward) and BMC 115 and SCBI Copenhagen 713 (Æthelstan). If it is LANDVC, this is presumably a hypocorism of a name in Land- or -land with the *-uc* suffix, and it is interesting that the style of the coins points to the other area in England where in the tenth century Hiberno-Norse influence is attested, but unfortunately LANDVC is not certain, while it might even be thought that the form occurs too early for this explanation to be really plausible. The other apparent instance of *-uc* is of eleventh-century date and occurs at Lincoln as the deuterotheme of the *prima facie* obscene sobriquet of that undoubted Irishman 'Matathan' (= early Middle Irish Matudán, cf. Hildebrand Cnut 1658, 1664 & 1665), but again one cannot be certain of the etymology, though certainly OE *-oc*, *-uc* would seem to be what the dic-cutter understood.

In north-eastern England Hiberno-Norse influence is seen at its most obvious at York. The mint-signed coins struck after c. 973 are well-known and evidence the following names which seem certainly to be of early Middle Irish origin, Beolan, 'Cielog' (= Cellach), Crinan, Crucan (sometimes seeming to be written 'Grurn' for 'Crukn'), 'Dufacan' (= Dubucán), and Eltan. Mistrustful, too, of OE weak genitives at a period when the strong genitive is conspicuous by its absence from the coins, the writer would probably add to that list Obán for all that OE Oba is securely attested more than two centuries earlier (and we may adduce at this point an Eadred penny of Obán of north-western style in the University Coin Cabinet at Oslo), while Dahfin(x) might well seem another strong candidate. In the context, too, names such as Ira, Ire and Oustman, Ustman may be thought to take on a new significance. However, the half-dozen names that are incontrovertibly Middle Irish are more than sufficient in themselves to demonstrate that there was still in the eleventh century an element in the population of York which had its ethnic origin among the Gall-Gaels of Dublin who crossed into north-eastern England early in the tenth century.

Beolan and Cellach are first evidenced at York between 975 and 978, Crinan and Crucan both c. 1025, Dubucán c. 1035, and Eltan c. 1045. An attempt will now be made to demonstrate that there are at least two early Middle Irish names to be found on coins associated with north-eastern England and struck already in the third quarter of the tenth century. For the evidence it is not necessary to go beyond the pages of the Edinburgh fascicle of the new *Sylloge*, the coins concerned being amply represented there though common enough in other collections, and especially in the British Museum where the want of *Sylloge* coverage is becoming increasingly a hindrance to early consolidation of the advances made in the last few years. The first moneyer with whom we are concerned is MACVS (SCBI Edinburgh 473-475—2 reverse dies), a 'two-line' moneyer of Eadgar, and this must surely be early

Middle Irish Mac(c)us, the name incidentally of one of the sons of the last Hiberno-Norse king of York, the slayer, too, of Eric Bloodaxe. More controversial are the coins of our second moneyer (*SCBI* Edinburgh 476-494—17 whole coins from 13 obverse and 14 reverse dies + 2 fragments) which hitherto have tended to be associated with OE Manna, a well-attested variant of OE Man(n). Indeed the writer's own very first note on an Anglo-Saxon numismatic topic included a suggestion that what is clearly the archetypal spelling MANAN would be better explained as an OE weak genitive rather than as a too consistent blundering of the nominative MANNA. Increasing familiarity with the series now compels him to reject this hypothesis as too ingenious. For one thing, no other 'two-line' penny of Eadgar associated with this particular school of die-cutting essays a genitive, and it is not easy to understand why MANNA should have been any easier to engrave than MANAN. For another, the nominative form of the name is never once found on a coin of this date and from this area, though elsewhere in England and over most of the century there are coins in plenty to evidence forms Man, Mann, Manna and even Mannes. It is the suggestion of this note, then, that the Eadgar 'two-line' pennies with reverse legends postulating a name MANAN should be taken at their face-value, and that we should go beyond OE Manna for its explanation. In itself the *-an* suffix has an Irish flavour (*cf.* the names Beolan, Crinan, Crucan, Dubucán and Eltan already cited), and the writer's present inclination is once more to look to the land of the legendary Manannán mac Lir.

Neither Macus nor Manan would seem to be known outside the 'two-line' type of Eadgar. The 'two-line' Manna who strikes for Eadwig (*cf.* *BMC* 31) and the 'two-line' Manna under Eadred (*SCBI* Edinburgh 251, *cf.* *BMC* 67) virtually flaunt duplication of the second consonant, and the die-linking observed in the case of *SCBI* Edinburgh 252 ('Manne') may be thought an argument that there were about the middle of the tenth century two moneyers Mann and Manna in north-eastern England. *SCBI* Fitzwilliam 597 and Edinburgh 298 suggest another Manna at work in East Anglia. From *SCBI* Copenhagen 746 and 747 (Eadred) and 809 (Eadgar, *cf.* *BMC* 145) we must accept yet another Mann at work in the Chester area, but to be stressed is the relative paucity of all these coins of Mann and Manna when set beside the Eadgar coins of Manan. Of the latter moneyer there were in the Tetney hoard no fewer than 22 specimens, and in the Iona hoard, as we have seen a total of 19. Slightly to complicate the position is the fact that in the 'reform' type at the end of the reign of Eadgar there are York pennies of Man (*SCBI* Hunter 732) and Manna (*BMC* 12) which are interesting because they suggest that Man(n) and Manna could be strong and weak forms respectively of the name of one individual, but this is not to say that the slightly earlier Manan was one and the same person. On the Tetney evidence he hailed from further to the south, and it is truly remarkable how little continuity there is between the 22 York moneyers who are known for the period c. 973-978 and those striking without mint-signature during the earlier part of Eadgar's reign. Not one of them is known in the 'two-line' type—unless, that is one persists in regarding MANAN as a consistent blundering of genitival MAN(N)AN—and only Fastolf in the 'circumscription' type.

From the foregoing it should have emerged that the Hiberno-Norse assault on northern England in the first half of the tenth century left its mark upon personal names of moneyers for something like a century after the final expulsion of the house of Ivar. What should be stressed, though, is that this note does not pretend to have done more than skim the surface of the available evidence. For example, there are several other names which are not obviously OE or ON and could conceivably be early Middle Irish—one might mention apparent LENNA

(cf. *BMC* Eadgar 119 & 120) which could so easily represent Lennán—with the intriguing possibility that this could be an Irishing of a Leof- name such as Leofman or Leofinc—and MANECA (cf. *BMC* Eadred 66) in which it is tempting to see early Middle Irish Man(c)h)án. Certainty, however, must wait on an urgently needed review of the whole of the evidence concerning the possibility of disappearance of final 'n' before 'm' from the reverse legends of 'two-line' pence of the tenth century. That 'n' could on occasion drop out of 'circumscription' legends has long been appreciated, and if GRID (cf. *SCBI* Edinburgh 414–422) is GRIND (cf. *SCBI* Hunter 744 etc.), it would seem that this loss of 'n' could be carried back and over into the 'two-line' type. Against this it could be objected that the already remarked insistence on final 'n' in the case of the coins of MANAN provides an argument to the contrary, but here it could be countered that we do not know precisely the early Middle Irish name which underlies the spelling. If MANAN were for Manan(nan), for example, the retention of the second 'n' would be quite understandable in itself, while in the case of postulated *Manan(n) without the diminutive suffix -án, sufficient explanation of the insistence on the form MANAN would be desire to avoid all possibility of confusion with OE Manna.

It is against this background, then, that we should re-examine the possibility that OE *Christðegn is no more than an Englishing of early Middle Irish Gilla Críst. The name first occurs shortly before c. 940 and is then found on one series of coins which perhaps extend as late as c. 960. Shortly after 990 it recurs at Stamford, and again it is confined to one series of coins, the *terminus ante quem* of the latest being at most 1003. Two individuals only would seem to be involved, and it is possible that we are dealing with homonymous father and son—or more probably grandfather and grandson—and in this connection it could be significant that the style of the earlier series is by no means inconsistent with these coins too having been struck somewhere in the lower valley of the Welland. The above two individuals apart, the name *Christðegn is one that seems entirely unknown to English prosopography. Clearly the innovation was one that did not commend itself to Englishmen generally, and this must favour the hypothesis that the name-formation, though formally impeccable, was in fact an alien one. As we have seen, early Middle Irish Gilla Críst provides a perfect analogy, and there is a body of evidence that early Middle Irish influences were being felt in English nomenclature at least as early as the middle of the tenth century. This phenomenon must stem from the great Hiberno-Norse onslaught on northern England which quickly led to Regnald establishing in 919 an intermittent Dublin dynasty in Northumbria. Doubtless it was from his followers that such late tenth- and early eleventh-century York and Lincoln moneyers as Beolan, Cellach, Crinan, Crucan, Dubucán, Eltan and Matudán traced their descent, and it is interesting that in north-eastern England the purely Irish names begin under Eadgar, roughly a generation after the initial conquests. In contrast, the *terminus ante quem* for the earliest coin of *Christðegn is 939, and this does not really allow enough time for the name to be given to a child born after his Dublin father's decision to settle permanently in England. Much more likely, then, would seem the hypothesis that our earlier *Christðegn was in fact a Hiberno-Norseman who had borne the name of Gilla Críst since his baptism. The assimilation to English ways implied by the mutation accords well with the fact that Hiberno-Norsemen seem to have been very much in a minority south of the Humber, and also with the circumstance that the Hiberno-Norsemen who swept into Northumbria in 919 were dominated by militant pagans, so that Christians among them might well have felt there was an added inducement to throw in their lot with the new Englishry further to the south.



THE WILLES PARCEL OF LATE X^C PENCE



THE ST. MARTIN COINS OF LINCOLN

By IAN STEWART

THIS paper does not pretend to be more than a preliminary enquiry into the date of and background to the very rare group of coins which carry the mint name of Lincoln and an obverse inscription alluding to St. Martin. Although my research into the Viking issues of the first quarter of the tenth century is still far from complete, I have come increasingly to feel that current ideas about the dating of the St. Martins and of the sword St. Peters, to which they are related, are in need of question, if not of revision. I have therefore felt it worthwhile to present the outlines of the case at an early stage, without waiting to fill in all the details. I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Blunt, Mr. Dolley, Sir Francis Hill and Professor Whitelock who have been good enough to comment on and improve a draft of this paper, though they are not, of course, responsible for the conclusions which I have drawn. Since, however, the arguments which follow are partly built on, but in some major points modify, Mr. Dolley's own work I am particularly indebted to him for confirming his general agreement with them.¹

That the St. Martins represent a Viking coinage of Lincoln in the first half of the tenth century, all writers are agreed, but beyond this there is little direct evidence for their date or of the authority under whom they were struck. Like many Anglo-Viking coins, they present considerable problems of interpretation; they are an isolated issue, and not part of a series; and their dating is complicated by the thinness of the hoard evidence.²

All five reverse dies have readings close to LINCOLIA CIVITAS, and that the coins were struck at Lincoln is beyond reasonable question. The early history of this mint is obscure. It had been active during the time of Alfred, being named on certain Viking coins of the period.³ There is no evidence that it was subsequently in the direct control of an English king before 918, and even then the evidence is not specific. No regular English coinage with the mint name is found before the last type of Edgar, though it is likely that coins without the mint name were struck there for English kings in the mid-tenth century.

Though there is early evidence of a church dedicated to St. Martin within the city, the Cathedral is dedicated to St. Mary, and the coins are the only indication that St. Martin may have been regarded as the local patron saint. 'The precedence of St. Mary was established

¹ Mr. Dolley authorizes me to say that he would have liked to place the St. Martins in the early 920's, but was unable to obtain any support for the idea from those historians whom he consulted; he is still attracted to the idea and feels that the tentative suggestion expressed in the last paragraph of this paper could meet the case. Professor Whitelock and Sir Francis Hill have told me that they would regard a date later than 918 for the St. Martins as by no means impossible.

² Works frequently cited (with short references) are: *British Museum Catalogue, Anglo-Saxon*, vol. i, 1887 ('BMC'); the relevant volumes of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* covering material at Copenhagen, Edinburgh and Glasgow; Sir Charles Oman, *The Coinage of England*, 1931 ('Oman'); G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 1932, revised by C. A.

Whitton, 1950 ('Brooke'); J. Rashleigh, 'Remarks on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish Kings of Northumberland', *NC* n.s. ix (1869), 54-105; D. F. Allen, 'Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century', *BNJ* xxii (1936-7), 175-86 ('Allen'); P. Nelson, 'The St. Peter Coins of York', *NC* ix (1949), 116 ('Nelson'); R. H. M. Dolley, 'An Unpublished Irish Hoard of St. Peter Pence', *NC* xvii (1957) 123-32 ('Geashill'); Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *NNA* 1957-8, 13-88 ('VCY'); (Dolley, ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1961 ('ASCoins'); Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin*, 1965 ('VCDD'), reviewed by Stewart, *Num. Circ.*, Oct. 1967, 269-72 ('Review').

³ *ASCoins*, pl. x, 6 and 9.

beyond question before the Norman Conquest, after which St. Martin's Church was secured by the bishop apparently by displacement of a private owner'.¹ There is, however, no need to dispute the evidence of the coins that in the earlier tenth century St. Martin was venerated as a tutelary saint by some at least of the inhabitants of the city.

The type associated on the coins with the name of St. Martin is a horizontal sword, a device, as Oman remarked, somewhat inappropriate to St. Martin who, although he had been a soldier in his youth, was not a martyr.² Its occurrence derives from imitation of the type of the later St. Peter coins of York. Equally, the genitive form of inscription, SCI MARTI(N) appears to be based on the s(an)c(t)I PETRI MO(neta) of the York issues, and although lacking the word *Moneta* is presumably intended to be read as '(the money) of St. Martin'.³ The Lincoln reverse type is, numismatically, without precedent or parallel, but a similar form of enclosed cross appears over the door of a church at Kirkdale in Yorkshire, said to have been rebuilt by the Danes, and it is also found on Runic monuments in Scandinavia.⁴

The known specimens are:

1. Copenhagen 620, ex Terslev find; 18.6 gr.
2. Norweb collection ex Mossop ex Lockett 451 ex Bascom 31 ex Astronomer 121 ex Montagu 374 ex Brice ex Wigan ex Pembroke 30 (plates: part IV, pl. 2) collections; 19.9 gr.
3. British Museum ex Cotton collection (*BMC* pl. XIX, 14 = *VCDD* fig. 27); 17.5 gr.
4. Copenhagen 621 (Bruun gift); 19.1 gr.
5. Sir J. W. F. Hill ex Grantley 934 ex Rashleigh 124 ex Cuff 384 ex Rich ex Dimsdale 344 ex Hollis 66; 16½ gr., not a full coin.

All the known obverses are very similar. They read, above the sword, scī M, and below ARTI(N); the N appears only on Copenhagen 620, which also alone has the A barred. There is a trefoil of pellets above the M, and an inverted T between two wedges below the inscription. Copenhagen 621 and the Pembroke specimen are from the same obverse die. All five coins have different reverse readings: Copenhagen 620, LINCOLLA CIVITA; Pembroke, LINCOLIA CIVT; British Museum, LINCOLIA CIVIT; Copenhagen 621, LINCOLIA CIVT; and Hollis, INCOLIA CIVT. On all except the Pembroke coin, the letter A on the reverse is flanked by large dots at the top; the letter N is reversed except on the Copenhagen coins.

Nineteenth century numismatists generally avoided venturing a precise date for the St. Martins. Lindsay compared them with the St. Peters dating both to the middle of the tenth century,⁵ but Hawkins thought 'they were struck about the same time probably as those of St. Peter and Eric [Bloodaxe, 947-8, 952-4], between about 921 and 942, in which latter year Lincoln was conquered from the Danes by King Edmund'.⁶

Of recent writers, Brooke was not at his best with the tenth century Anglo-Viking coinages. He ascribed the secular coins with the Karolus monogram and with the hammer and bow

¹ Sir (J. W.) Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 1948, p. 30.

² Oman p. 46. Mr. Dolley has, however, pointed out that the best known story of his life tells how he divided his cloak with his sword to share it with a beggar.

³ Stewart, 'Moneta and Mot on Anglo-Saxon Coins', *BNJ*, xxxi (1962), p. 30.

⁴ Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, I, 357. E. Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England*, 1887, 102. According to Sir Francis Hill, there is a carved stone now in the cloisters of Lincoln cathedral, found in an area once within the church or churchyard of the Saxon St. Mary, which has

on its face two plain incised crosses, one within the other (see Hill, p. 78).

⁵ J. Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 1842, 71.

⁶ Hawkins, *op. cit.*, 102. Rashleigh (p. 104) expressed a view close to that of the present paper, though perhaps less conscious of the historical considerations: 'These coins were struck while Lincoln was in the hands of the Danes, and they were issued under their authority, about A.D. 920-930'. For an early discussion of the St. Martins, see S. Pegge, *Assemblage of Coins . . . of the Archbishops of Canterbury, etc.*, 1772, 63-7.

to Regnald Guthfrithson (942-4), and then linked the St. Peters to these by the monogram and hammer types and to the coinage of Eric Bloodaxe by the sword type. The St. Martins, too, he associated 'by their adoption of the sword type, with the period of Eric's coinage, the middle of the tenth century'.¹

Oman, whose treatment of these series laid the foundations for their modern arrangement, brought the whole group back into the first quarter of the century, associating the sword coins in the name of a king Sihtric with Sihtric Gale, or Cooch, of York (921-6), and the secular Karolus monogram coins, which in their more literate versions have a name such as *Raienalt*, to his brother and predecessor Regnald (919-21), the first of the Hiberno-Norse dynasty at York. The consequent allocation of the St. Peters to the period between the burial of the Cuerdale hoard and the arrival of the Norsemen, though not, as it now appears, exactly correct, was a major step forward.²

Mr. Allen a few years later also differed from Brooke's chronology. Working on the same basis as Oman, that the sword Sihtrics were of the early 920's, and that the sword St. Peters were more closely related to them than to Eric's sword type, he felt that the date of the earliest St. Peters had to be 'brought backwards to the period about 925 A.D.', and with them the St. Martins. The period of the St. Peters thus was to stretch from Sihtric to Eric.³

Nelson was responsible for an important advance in using the evidence of the Harkirk hoard to demonstrate that the swordless St. Peters included the earliest of the St. Peter series,⁴ followed by the Karolus monogram type as being copied from the *Cunnetti* and *Ebraice* coins as found in the Cuerdale hoard. Then would come, c. 915, the *Cross* St. Peters, followed by the *Mallet* and *Hammer* coins, but with the swordless series continuing in parallel and lasting until c. 940.⁵ Nelson is apparently alone in having considered that the St. Martins (c. 915) were the prototype of the sword St. Peters.

The latest authoritative view is that of Mr. Dolley, expressed in a number of recent studies. As he has remarked, three hoards—Dean, Harkirk and Chester 1862—contained swordless St. Peters with English coins up to Edward the Elder (899-924) and four—Glasnevin, Co. Dublin, Machrie and Trotternish—contained sword but not swordless St. Peters with English elements reaching to Aethelstan or beyond.⁶ Mr. Dolley's unexceptionable conclusion, contrary to assumptions dating back to the *British Museum Catalogue*, was that all the St. Peters without swords were earlier and not later than those with swords. It followed that, if the sword St. Peters were the later and could be associated with the sword Sihtrics, then the whole swordless St. Peter coinage belonged to the first quarter of the century, but with a longer span than Oman had given it, since Cuerdale is now dated nearer c. 903 than c. 910,⁷ and the sword St. Peters need not have ceased with the appearance of a royal coinage at York.

The new pattern was corroborated by the opportune discovery in 1958 at Morley St. Peter in Norfolk of a large hoard, containing St. Peters both without and with the sword, and buried early enough in Aethelstan's reign to contain only one coin in his name against many hundreds of Edward the Elder.⁸

Together, more or less, with the sword St. Peters must come or go the St. Martins, and these accordingly are also to be placed in the later part of the first quarter of the tenth

¹ Brooke, 37.

² Oman, 50.

³ Allen, 179.

⁴ Nelson, 116; Rashleigh (p. 98) had also used the Harkirk evidence but his argument had subsequently been overlooked.

⁵ Nelson expressed his sequence in *BMC* type

nos.—5 (continuing), 4, 1, 2, 3.

⁶ Geashill, 127.

⁷ The old dating was based on the battle of Tettenhall as a supposed *occasio* for the Cuerdale hoard.

⁸ *Num. Circ.* 1958, 113-4; *Antiquity*, xxxii, 1958, 100-3.

century. But here an historical problem arises, for the area of the Five Boroughs which were the focus of Danish power in the North Midlands—Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby and Lincoln—had fallen under English control before the arrival of the Norsemen at York in 919. Derby had been captured by Aethelflaed in 917 and Leicester submitted early the next year. The Danes of Stamford and Nottingham also submitted in 918, to Edward the Elder, but Lincoln is not mentioned specifically. In Sir Frank Stenton's reference to the wording of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'the fate of Lincoln is implied by the contemporary statement that after the surrender of Nottingham, all the people settled in Mercia, Danes and Englishmen, submitted to King Edward. The English frontier had at last been carried to the Humber.'¹ Both Oman and Nelson believed that the St. Martins must be dated prior to 918; in Oman's words, Lincoln 'would not have issued autonomous coins after that date'.²

But for the historical background, Mr. Dolley would have been inclined to date the coins of sword type after the arrival of the Norsemen in York in 919.³ But the St. Martins seemed to be an obstacle to this idea: 'not only did Lincoln remain outside the sphere of influence of the Hiberno-Norse dynasty, except briefly between 939 and 941, but the city was firmly in English hands by the end of 918, impelled there by fear of the Hiberno-Norsemen who did not make themselves masters of York until the following year'.⁴ 'On the other hand, a date earlier than c. 915 would seem precluded by the evidence of the St. John's hoard from Chester which contains "pictorial" coins of Edward the Elder together with St. Peter pence of the old swordless type'.⁵ So the St. Martins would have to be dated a year or two before 919, and the earliest sword St. Peters, as their prototype, would need to have appeared c. 915.

To this chronology there are I think more serious numismatic objections than have been apparent hitherto. The matter turns on the relationship of the St. Martins to the St. Peters, and on the sequence of the sword St. Peters themselves. Unfortunately hoard evidence for the duration of the swordless St. Peters is sparse, and the Chester hoard⁶ is not precisely datable on the basis of the English coins. If the arrangement of the sword coins proposed in this paper is correct, there would be no intrinsic obstacle to allowing the swordless group a period of issue up to as late as c. 920. This would, incidentally, be more in accord with the proportion of thirteen swordless St. Peters to one with the sword as present in the Morley St. Peter hoard.

No writer has apparently disputed either the typological link between the St. Martins and the St. Peters, or—with the exception of Nelson—that the St. Martins are the derivative group. To give the St. Martins priority would involve the improbable sequence: swordless St. Peters—St. Martins, with sword—sword St. Peters, implying that Lincoln, having borrowed from York the idea and general form of a coinage in the name of the local saint, originated the sword type, which was then in its turn copied by York. The natural direction of influence, politically and numismatically, would be from greater to lesser, from York to Lincoln, and from the relatively abundant and varied St. Peters to the extremely rare and uniform St. Martins.

If this is so, we can attempt to place the St. Martins more precisely, by establishing which of the many varieties of sword St. Peters the St. Martins most resemble and what can be deduced of the sequence and date of the sword St. Peters. These may be described as follows:

¹ Sir F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 327.

² Oman, 50.

³ Geashill, 131; though Haigh's suggested identification of the symbol as the Sword of Carlus should

perhaps not be pressed.

⁴ *VCDD*, 22.

⁵ Geashill, 130.

⁶ *Inventory* 83; and R. P. Mack in this vol., p. 36.

The *Cross* type—

The obverses have a horizontal sword pointing always to the right, sometimes with an ornament, such as a cross or group of annulets or pellets, at the tip. The inscription above is *sci PE* and below *TR MO*, the *1* of *Petri* being supplied by the shaft of an object which appears to be an inverted mallet.¹ There are sometimes additional ornaments above or below.

On the reverse is a version of the mint name, *EBORACECI* or a derivative form; it surrounds a central design consisting of a cross with either a pellet in each angle, or sometimes a crescent in place of or addition to the pellet in one or two of the quarters.

The coins are mostly of uniform and high quality, the letters being bold and clear, and dies carefully engraved, even when the reverse inscription shows signs of illiterate copying, with the reading corrupted, e.g. to *RORACED* (Glasgow 516). There are often annulets, crescents or pellets in the reverse inscription between letters, but most commonly each side of the letter *A*.

Some accessible illustrations of coins of the *Cross* type with pure pellet reverse are *BMC* plate xxx, no. 1, Glasgow 513-5 and Copenhagen 584-5; and with the pellet and crescent reverse, Glasgow 516 and Copenhagen 586.

The *Mallet* and *Hammer* types—

The obverses are basically similar to those of the *Cross* type, except that there is no inverted mallet below; the sword sometimes ends in a hook (perhaps a crozier end), and points to the left, e.g. Copenhagen 593 and *BMC*, plate xxx, nos. 3 and 4. There are frequently ornaments at either end of the sword, and sometimes above and/or below the inscription.

The central type of the reverse is commonly an object like the mallet on *Cross* coins, only in an upright position; the head is usually pentagonal as on the *Cross* coins, but occasionally triangular, e.g. on *BMC* plate xxx, no. 3, Glasgow 517 and Copenhagen 593. The shaft is usually shown in double outline—the pure *Mallet* type, e.g. *BMC* plate xxx, no. 2, and Copenhagen 587-92—but sometimes as a single line—the *Hammer-Mallet* variety, e.g. Copenhagen 595-6. There is occasionally an ornament, a bar or trefoil of pellets, each side of the mallet, e.g. Copenhagen 591 and 592. A few coins have a plain hammer, consisting of a single upright shaft, with long wedges on each side just below the top, e.g. *BMC* plate xxx, no. 4 and Copenhagen 597-8.

Some blundering of the legends is normal. On the obverse, *P* and *R* frequently decline into single uprights, giving *SCIE TINO* or similar, a form of corruption curiously rare on degenerate swordless St. Peters. The reverse readings bear little or no resemblance to *Eborace*, being generally composed of a jumble of the letters, *i*, *o*, *r*, *v* and *t*.

It is not difficult to see which of these St. Peter varieties is closest to the St. Martins. The inverted *τ* below the inscription on all the St. Martin obverses can, I think, best be interpreted as an equivalent of the inverted mallet on the *Cross* St. Peters.² A mark in this form is not found as a casual ornament on coins of the Anglo-Saxon period; and if the St. Martins are copied from the St. Peters, then this mark seems to serve not only to reinforce the connection but to indicate which type of sword St. Peter was taken as a model for the Lincoln coins. That the mallet, the hammer and the Tau-cross, or *τ*, all represented the same object is confirmed by the occurrence of all three as the central type on the reverse of the St. Peter and Sihtric sword coins.

Except in the sense of a cruciform design, the Lincoln reverse does not superficially resemble the *Cross* St. Peters, though it is entirely dissimilar to the *Hammer* and *Mallet* types, to which it cannot look for its model. A small detail, however, finally settles the link with the *Cross* St. Peters: as noted above, it is a common characteristic of these to have small marks flanking the letter *A*, and there are two pellets beside the letter *A* on four out of five Lincoln reverse dies.

¹ Allen (p. 179) thought this object might be a pall. It appears, however, to have been used as an equivalent of the hammer, in which case it can only be a mallet: both forms may be intended to represent Thor's hammer.

² It was so understood by Rashleigh (p. 104). It could conceivably be copied from the cross at the bottom of the obverse of some *Mallet* St. Peters; but if so, why an inverted *τ* and not the obvious cross?

Some thirty or so specimens each of both the *Cross* and the *Mallet/Hammer* groups of St. Peters are recorded. The St. Peters with and without sword seem to represent York issues under episcopal authority, although they may have had a rather broader, municipal sponsorship.¹ Although there are several parallel issues of an apparently secular nature, these are never more than fractionally as abundant as the St. Peters. Alongside the swordless St. Peters there was an issue in the name, where not blundered, of an unidentified Regnald ('Raenalt', i.e. Raignalt?), with a head or hand on the obverse, and the Karolus monogram on the reverse.² Of the period of the sword St. Peters there is another—again very rare—group of secular coins, some of which have the name Sihtric, as noted above, and others of which, with no very intelligible inscriptions, combine a sword³ or a bow⁴ on one side with a hammer type on the other (though the sword on these, unlike the St. Peters and Sihtrics, is enclosed within a circumscription). Surviving secular sword and/or hammer coins, Sihtrics and others combined, number barely a dozen.

Sihtric's types are comparable to the sword St. Peters. There are *Cross* coins, one⁵ but not others⁶ with the inverted mallet on the obverse, suggesting that in the case of this type at least the royal coinage copied the St. Peters and not *vice versa*; and there are *Hammer* coins, with several moneyers' names on them,⁷ the hammer being basically in the form of a T. There are also coins of *Mallet* type, which are rather blundered and probably imitations, perhaps of later date, based partly on St. Peters, though they have unmistakable traces of the name *Sihtric* on the obverse and one has a reverse inscription apparently indicating a moneyer's name with the word *Mot*.⁸ It is possible that some of the Sihtrics were not struck at York: Mr. Allen thought they were stylistically close to the St. Martins,⁹ and I doubt whether the '*Castra Eort*' coins can belong to *Civitas Eborace*.¹⁰ So the St. Peters and Sihtrics need not be regarded as exactly parallel, though they are obviously related and the date bracket of Sihtric's reign, 921–6, must apply at least partially to the sword St. Peters.

Before the Morley St. Peter hoard, Mr. Dolley had dated the sword St. Peters to 917–921—which would just allow an early variety to have appeared in time to be the forerunner of the St. Martins before 918—and supposed that Sihtric may have suppressed and replaced the ecclesiastical St. Peters in or after 921.¹¹ More recently he was inclined to date the sword St. Peters c. 915–925, implicitly placing the *Cross* type (a single specimen of which was the only sword St. Peter in the Morley hoard) towards the end of that period.¹² The arrangement suggested by the editors of the Copenhagen *Sylloge* is based on a sequence beginning with the *Hammer* St. Peters, progressing via the *Hammer-Mallet* to the normal, and commonest, *Mallet* variety, and ending with the *Cross* type.¹³

¹ The St. Peters are generally assumed to be ecclesiastical. But they were not necessarily so. The St. Martins cannot be issues of the See of Lincoln, which did not exist at the time. It seems possible that the St. Peters were a municipal issue. In this paper 'secular' is used to refer to the York issues of the period other than the St. Peters.

² BMC pl. xxviii, 6–8.

³ The hammer type is not in BMC, and was omitted by Brooke. The Morley St. Peter specimen (B.M.) is figured no. 29 in VCDD; the Glasnevin specimen (now C. E. Blunt), Lindsay, op. cit., pl. 2, no. 52; the Bangor specimen, BNJ xxvii (1955) pl. II, no. 5; another (now Stewart) was in the collection of Lord Grantley whose ticket says

it was found near Cambridge.

⁴ BMC pl. xxviii, 9, and Copenhagen 626.

⁵ BMC pl. xxix, 13 = VCDD fig. 30.

⁶ VCDD fig. 31 and Copenhagen 627 (same reverse die).

⁷ Brooke pl. lxvi, 6 (Are); BNJ xxvii, pl. II, 4 (Ade—); Hildebrand, *Anglo-Sachsiska Mynt*, 1881, p. 4 (Sibrant).

⁸ Edinburgh 70; Copenhagen 594.

⁹ Allen, 178.

¹⁰ Review, 270.

¹¹ Geashill, 130–1.

¹² VCDD, 22 and figs 30–1.

¹³ Copenhagen *Sylloge*, notes to pl. xx.

Typologically there are reasons for thinking that this may not be the likeliest order. There is, for example, some considerable degeneration of design and literacy within the *Mallet* series; and on some obverse dies, e.g. Copenhagen 592, there is a triangle below the obverse inscription which is scarcely intelligible except as uncomprehending imitation of the head of the inverted mallet on the *Cross St. Peters*.¹ There does not seem to me, either, to be any very close link arguing for continuity from late swordless *St. Peters* to sword *St. Peters* of the *Mallet* variety; the latter, as noted above, very frequently show *p* and *x* on the obverse as *r*, a simple error but one not normal on the swordless group, and there are other epigraphical peculiarities which suggest that the corrupted inscriptions on both sides of the *Mallet St. Peters* are not continuous from those of the swordless group. What is more, in the *Mallet* series there is a lack of specially well produced and literate varieties which might have been expected to accompany a type change as notable as the introduction of the sword. The natural stylistic arrangement would be to put the *Cross St. Peters* at the head of the series, for by comparison with the rest they are from consistently well-made dies and even the least good are relatively literate.

The relevant hoard evidence is scanty. Only one of the *St. Martins*, Copenhagen 620, has a recorded hoard provenance—Terslev (Zealand) 1911, where the English element consisted of ordinary coins of Alfred, Edward, Aethelstan and Edmund and the other Anglo-Viking coins were a swordless *St. Peter* and a Raven type of Anlaf Guthfrithson. It is notable that most of the *St. Martins* and sword *St. Peters* go back to the earlier nineteenth, if not the eighteenth or seventeenth centuries; there must surely have been one or more highly relevant hoards found two centuries ago or more to which we owe most of the extant specimens.² The British Museum *St. Martin* goes back to Sir Robert Cotton (d. 1631); another belonged to Lord Pembroke in 1746; another to Hollis before 1817; and Thoresby illustrated one in *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1715. Many of the sword *St. Peters* also go far back, such as the three Hunter coins at Glasgow, *BMC* 1811, 1119 and 1120 to Devonshire, *BMC* 1117 to Tyssen (1802) and *BMC* 1114, 1116 and 1122 to Hollis. Coins which first appeared in Hollis could, of course, derive from the large and enigmatic Bossall/Flaxton hoard³ of 1807, which apparently contained English coins from Alfred to Aethelstan, specimens of the Hand/Karolus 'Raenalt' type and the secular Bow/Hammer type, as well as some 150 or so *St. Peters*. But many, perhaps most, of the sword coins must go back to the eighteenth century.

There are, however, three important hoards, all presumably buried in the mid- to later 920's, which contained sword coins of the period, and the nature of the sword coins is highly revealing. Two of the hoards were small nineteenth century discoveries, at Glasnevin,⁴ Co. Dublin, in 1838, and Bangor,⁵ North Wales, in 1894; the third is the very large 1958 Morley *St. Peter* hoard already mentioned. Their respective contents may be summarised in tabular form as follows:—

¹ Copenhagen 595 (illustration inverted) has the triangle inverted; this die is retrograde and very blundered, and the triangle seems to me likely to have been copied, again uncomprehendingly, from a coin like Copenhagen 592.

² I am indebted to Mr. Hugh Pagan for emphasizing this point, and to Mrs. J. S. Martin for helping me to pursue it. It would repay further inquiry, e.g., there are eight *St. Peters* illustrated in Drake's *Eboracum* (1736) (Appendix, p. civ); seven are taken from pl. ix of Fountaine's *Numis-*

mata Anglo-Saxonica etc. (1705); the eighth was in the collection of Mr. West. Four have the sword; four are without it.

³ *Inventory*, 162; Dolley in *BNJ* xxvii (1955), 11–17; see also *BNJ* xxx (1961), 360–1.

⁴ *Inventory* 89, otherwise known from Lindsay's reference as the Claremont hoard (corrected by Dolley, British Museum *Sylloge, Hiberno-Norse*, p. 28).

⁵ C. E. Blunt, 'Saxon Coins from Southampton and Bangor', *BNJ* xxvii (1955), 259–62.

	<i>Glasnevin</i>	<i>Bangor</i>	<i>Morley St. Peter</i>
Islamic	2	5	—
English pre-899	—	—	81
Earlier Vikings	—	—	24
Edward the Elder, 899-924	—	3	763
Swordless St. Peters	—	2	13
'Raenalt' (Karolus monogram)	—	—	—
Sihtric, 921-6	1	1	—
Secular sword/hammer	1	1	1
<i>Cross</i> St. Peters	2	1	1
<i>Mallet/Hammer</i> St. Peters	—	—	—
St. Martins	—	—	—
Aethelstan, 924-939	2	—	1

The pattern of later Viking coins in these hoards is astonishingly consistent, especially in view of the small scale on which these rare coins were present. Two of the three hoards contained a single specimen each of the extremely rare group in Sihtric's name, Glasnevin of the *Cross* type and Bangor of the *T-hammer* type. All three hoards contained a single specimen of the even rarer secular sword/hammer group. All three contained sword St. Peters, and all four of these coins were of the *Cross* type. The hoards were probably all buried in the 920's—ending with their Aethelstans and their Sihtrics—and while none of them contained either a St. Martin or a *Mallet* St. Peter, all of them contained *Cross* St. Peters and the secular sword/hammer group, which is known to-day by fewer specimens than either the Sihtrics or the St. Martins.

In a positive sense these hoards prove little beyond that the *Cross* St. Peters were struck before c. 927, and it is fair to remember that two are very small and the third not necessarily representative as far as its Northumbrian coins are concerned. However, they are indicative on a number of points. Firstly, the *Cross* type alone of the sword St. Peters is represented in these hoards and again the indication is surely that this type is not the latest of the series. Second, being apparently a fairly compact issue, it should perhaps belong to the 920's rather than stretch back before 918—if it had, Morley St. Peter should have had more than one of the recent sword coins against thirteen of the earlier swordless group. Third, two groups of coins, namely the Sihtric and secular sword coins, managed to be represented respectively in two and three of these hoards, both groups being of equivalent rarity to the St. Martins and of much greater rarity than the *Mallet* St. Peters. It is negative evidence, but there must be some doubt whether either of these absent series can therefore be dated much before c. 925.¹

Metrology does not help very much. The weights of individual coins vary widely, and there are too few specimens to obtain significant averages. Full specimens of the *Cross* type of sword St. Peter not infrequently reach 20 gr.; the St. Martins are all under 20 gr.; and the *Mallet* and *Hammer* St. Peters are very uneven, usually being in the range of 16 to 20 gr. What evidence there is, therefore, would not be inconsistent with the suggested priority of the *Cross* St. Peters.

More hoard evidence is needed before we can be at all confident about chronology, but a numismatic pattern emerges which cannot be easily reconciled with a date prior to 918 for the St. Martins and their prototype, the sword St. Peters with the *Cross* reverse. Instead,

¹The *T-hammer* Sihtrics may be earlier than the *Mallet* St. Peters; the only 'Sihtric' coins of *Mallet* type are blundered and perhaps imitative (*supra*, p. 51).

the indications are that the latter may belong to the earlier 920's, and be of much the same date as the Sihtrics of comparable type. The *Mallet* St. Peters ought not perhaps to be dated much if at all before 925, and in spite of the large York coinage in Aethelstan's name, it may even be wondered if they could have outlasted the period of Viking royal authority at York, which ceased with Anlaf Guthfrithson's first brief tenure in 926-7, or if perhaps some of the more degenerate examples may even have been copies made elsewhere. The varieties are numerous, and though they could belong to a year or two, they give the impression of a longer issue. The suggestions should not be pressed, but though it seems likely that a non-regal issue would have been suppressed immediately by Aethelstan, it would perhaps be wrong in the present state of our knowledge that other possibilities should be entirely ruled out.

To revert to the St. Martins, there are indications against their prototype having been issued before 918, and hoards hint that a date not earlier than the mid 920's could apply to the St. Martins. Whether or not it is thought historically plausible that a Viking coinage of Lincoln could have been struck after 918, say in the period of Northumbrian revolt after Sihtric's death, the numismatic evidence does seem to tend in this direction. The St. Martins, like the St. Peters, were not a regal issue and if the Danes were allowed to continue their own customs where they caused no trouble, perhaps the ecclesiastical (or municipal) coinages were for a time condoned; they belonged to an age in which there are indications that coinage had still not been brought fully under royal control.

A PARCEL OF REFORM-TYPE PENCE OF EADGAR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

By MICHAEL DOLLEY and C. E. BLUNT

For some years now, the proportion in English cabinets of Lincoln, Stamford and York coins of Eadgar's last type, of the only type of Edward the Martyr and of the very first issue of Æthelræd II, has induced the suspicion that in the eighteenth century there must have been in north-eastern England a major discovery of *Reform*-type pence of these three kings.¹ Further colour has been given to this surmise by Mr. Blunt's recent visit to Leningrad where he was able to inspect part of the Hermitage collection. A great number of the tenth-century English pence in that cabinet seem to be purchases in the London sale-room dating back to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and it is illuminating that of the three coins of Eadgar's last type, one is of Lewes, one of Stamford and one of York, while of five coins of Edward the Martyr, one is of Stafford, an unpublished mint for the reign, no fewer than three of Stamford, and one of York. This contrasts most markedly with the position obtaining in the Systematic Collection of the Royal Swedish Coin cabinet, a collection essentially composed of coins found within the boundaries of the modern kingdom of Sweden. Of 55 pennies of Eadgar's last type, three are of York, three of Lincoln and only one of Stamford. Of 27 coins of Edward the Martyr, two are of Stamford, and one apiece of Lincoln and York.

Fresh support for the hypothesis of a major unrecorded hoard in the Stamford area *c.* 1750, or a little earlier, is afforded by a remarkable parcel of 13 coins, the property of Mr. E. J. Willes, dispersed at Sotheby's London sale-room on 23 May 1966. The coins comprised lots 120–132 in the sale, and all were illustrated in the sale-catalogue. Through the kindness of Messrs. Sotheby we are able here to reproduce the admirable direct photographs in colotype instead of half-tone, and to give a number of additional details concerning the individual coins, including a note of the weights. We are particularly grateful to Mr. Daniel Fearon for assistance in this matter, and also to Mr. and Mrs. Willes for the information that the coins had come down in the family without any tradition as to the original provenance. It is entirely our suggestion that they represent a parcel from that great eighteenth-century hoard, the source of William Hunter's unrivalled run of coins of the types in question,² but it is a suggestion that we believe to be well-founded. Five of the coins are of Stamford, four of Lincoln and one apiece of Newark and of York.

The coins may be listed as follows:—

EADGAR

Reform type (Hild. C.2 = BMC VI = Brooke 6 = North 752)

(1) *Canterbury* (CÆNT), Boega.

24.6 grains (1.59 g.).

Pl. II, 1. Lot 120.

Boega, to employ the usual normalisation, is well-attested as a Canterbury moneyer in this type

¹ *e.g.* *A/S Coins*, p. 139. The relative plethora of coins of Stamford of this period was remarked by Wells (*BNJ* XXIII (1938–41), p. 23).

² *SCBI* Hunter shows that the great Scottish surgeon had 19 of the *Reform* pence of Eadgar, 30

pence of Edward the Martyr and no fewer than 15 of the exceptionally rare *First Small Cross* pence of Æthelræd II. A further breakdown reveals that 10 of these coins had been struck at Lincoln, 6 at Stamford and 8 at York.

cf. *BMC* 5 and *BEH* 4, both it would appear from different pairs of dies. A die-duplicate is however Carlyon-Britton 434, later Drabble 435 where it is illustrated, and we may further note *BEH* 3 and another coin in the British Museum from the 1914 Chester find (Hill 1).

- (2) *Newark* (NIPV), Ingolf. 22.4 grains (1.49 g.).
Pl. II, 4. Lot 123.

The mint and moneyer are only formally unpublished for the type, a second coin from the same reverse die having been illustrated by Professor Berghaus in his ten-year old account of the coins in the Sigsarve hoard from the Gotland parish of Hejde, where the tentative attribution proposed is to a Newport.¹ The style of the reverse die strongly supports the new attribution to Newark, and especially now that Newark is acceptable as a mint of Eadwig (NIPV), Edward the Martyr (NIEPEN), Æthelræd II (NĒPIR) and Cnut (NIPOR). Newport Pagnell has been suggested as an alternative attribution for the Edward the Martyr coin (*SCBI* Hunter 752), but on the Eadgar coins by the same moneyer the NA form of the copulative, just plausible and explicable in the case of a very late Eadgar die from north-eastern England,² must surely preclude a mint so far to the south.

- (3) *Northampton* (HAMT), Thurferth. 23.9 grains (1.55 g.).
Pl. II, 2. Lot 121.

Thurferth appears to be unpublished as a Northampton moneyer in this type, but he is known for the mint in the slightly earlier *circumscription* issue (Hild. B = *BMC* iii = Brooke 3 = North 749) on a coin from the Chester (1950) hoard (No. 454) and on coins without mint-signature but with the obverse legend ending TM or M. The mint signature on the mint-signed coins is ambiguous, but our preference for Northampton as against Southampton, while not perhaps final, is based on the general appearance of Thurferth's two mint-signed coins and also on the greater probability that a name such as this would occur in the context of the borders of the southern Danelaw rather than on the coast of Wessex.

- (4) *Stamford* (STANFO), Riculf. 23.1 grains (1.50 g.).
Pl. II, 3. Lot 122.

Riculf (? = Ringulf but not necessarily so) is already recorded as a Stamford moneyer in this type on the basis of a coin, perhaps a die duplicate, in the nineteenth-century S. Sharp collection (Wells (*BNJ* XXIII (1938-41), p. 21, 35), and another which passed through the hands of Sharp's contemporary, the dealer W. Webster (Wells 36). Since the present whereabouts of both these pieces are unknown, it is particularly satisfactory to be able to illustrate photographically a coin which completely vindicates the orthography of a moneyer's name that in this form cannot be matched at the mint in question. The spelling is one found, however, on very rare coins of Æthelræd II struck at Chester and Shrewsbury during the closing years of the tenth century (*BEH* 1561 and 3379).

EDWARD THE MARTYR

Sole type (Hild. A = *BMC* I = Brooke sole type = North 763)

- (5) *Lincoln* (LT), Adelavern. 22.4 grains (1.45 g.).
Pl. II, 5. Lot 124.

Adelaver is well-attested as a Lincoln moneyer at this period. In this type we may adduce *SCBI* Hunter 743, a coin in the British Museum from the 1914 Chester find (Hill 34), and a coin in the Sir Francis Hill collection, all three pieces being die duplicates of the former Willes coin, and also *SCBI* Ashmolean 427 with the same reverse legend but from other dies.

¹ M. Stenberger & P. Berghaus, 'Der Schatz von Sigsarve, Gotland', *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar* 83, p. 149, no. 244.

² Frequently met with on coins of this area and at this period is the replacement of 'O' by 'A'—a

normal sound-change under Scandinavian influence cf. Aslac for OE Ōslac—while 'N' for 'M' is an epigraphical quirk only too often met with on coins of this region; we might instance *SCBI* Hunter 771 where 'M' is consistently rendered as retrograde 'N'.

- (6) *Lincoln* (LNDCOL), Levig. 20.2 grains (1.31 g.).
Pl. II, 7. Lot 126.
Levig (? = Leofing) is particularly well-attested as a Lincoln moneyer in this reign. Mr. Mossop's forthcoming corpus of coins of the Lincoln mint lists a total of 15 from 5 obverse and 9 reverse dies. The only die-duplicate appears to be *SCBI* Hunter 748.
- (7) *Lincoln* (LIN), Rodbert. 19.6 grains (1.27 g.).
Pl. II, 6. Lot 125.
Rodbert is already known in this type from *SCBI* Hunter 749 which is, however, from other dies. The ex-Willes coin is now in the Sir Francis Hill collection.
- (8) *Stamford* (STAN), Æscman. 21.2 grains (1.36 g.).
Pl. II, 8. Lot 127.
Wells (*op. cit.*, pp. 25 and 26) has recorded a number of coins of this moneyer and reign, but the reverse die at least appears to be unrecorded.
- (9) *Stamford* (STANF), Cnape. 22.7 grains (1.47 g.).
Pl. II, 9. Lot 128.
Coins of Cnape are by no means rare, and at least eight specimens underlie the entries in Wells' corpus of coins of the reign and mint (*op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 27). The ex-Willes coin would appear to be a die-duplicate of *BMC* 26 and of a coin formerly in the Wells cabinet (*op. cit.*, p. 27, no. 34). A coin unknown to Wells but certainly from the same dies is in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad.
- (10) *Stamford* (STANFO), Hild. 23.7 grains (1.54 g.).
Pl. II, 10. Lot 129.
Again coins of the reign, mint and moneyer can scarcely be considered rare, a total of eight specimens being known to Wells (*op. cit.*, p. 27). The ex-Willes coin seems to be a die-duplicate of one in his cabinet, and is certainly from the same reverse die as a ninth coin in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad (itself ? a die-duplicate of Wells no. 43).
- (11) *Stamford* (STANFORD), Ogea. 20.5 grains (1.33 g.).
Pl. II, 11. Lot 130.
Ogea(r) is one of the less common Stamford moneyers of the reign. No more than three coins need underlie the entries in Wells' corpus (*op. cit.*, pp. 27 & 28). The present coin is a die-duplicate of *BMC* 30 and of a coin formerly in the Wells cabinet (no. 48).
- (12) *York* (EFERþ), Beolan. 21.8 grains (1.41 g.).
Pl. II, 12. Lot 131.
Beolan, from his name a moneyer of Hiberno-Norse descent (*cf. supra*, p. 43), was already known for the reign. We may instance a coin in the British Museum from the 1914 Chester find (Hill 71), and *SCBI* Copenhagen I, 820 which is apparently from the same obverse die as the ex-Willes coin.

ÆTHELRÆD II

First Small Cross type (Hild. A = *BMC* I = Brooke 1 = North 764).

- (13) *Lincoln* (LINEC), Grind. 19.4 grains (1.26 g.).
Pl. II, 13. Lot 132.
Despite the overall rarity of coins of this issue, Mr. Mossop's forthcoming corpus lists five coins of this mint and moneyer. *BMC* 151 and a coin in the Sir Francis Hill cabinet appear to be from the same obverse die, but the reverse die of the ex-Willes coin would seem to be new.

This concludes our review of the thirteen coins dispersed in May of last year. What we would stress is the fact that so many are die-linked with coins which can be traced back to the eighteenth century, or for which a pre-1800 English provenance may be presumed. There

is, for example, no call to suppose that *SCBI* Copenhagen I, 820 necessarily derives from a Danish hoard—Thomsen was an enthusiastic collector who bought at English sales—and the authorities of the Hermitage Collection are thought to have purchased important English coins in London. The die-links with *SCBI* Hunter 743 and 748 and with *BMC* Eadgar 26 and Æthelræd 151 appear all to take us back into the eighteenth century, and that with *BMC* Eadgar 30 at least as far back as 1854. This pattern of die-linking is surely critical, and it cannot be coincidental that the mints concerned lie all in north-eastern England. To be further noted is the fact that the parcel of coins handed down in the Willes family included no other mediaeval pieces. We can safely rule out the hypothesis of an early collector attempting to build up a collection of coins of his local mints—for one thing the date-bracket is much too narrow, while the coins of much more common issues are far too conspicuous by their absence. The preponderance of the evidence, then, must suggest very strongly that the Willes coins represent a parcel from the eighteenth-century hoard which made Lincoln and Stamford coins relatively common where English coins from the late 970's are concerned. More and more, too, one is left with the feeling that the find-spot was one not all that far removed from Stamford.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE FOR THE SEQUENCE OF TYPES EARLY IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

By MICHAEL DOLLEY and STEWART LYON

IN a remarkable paper which appeared rather more than a decade ago, Mr. Peter Seaby put forward very convincing arguments that the sequence of the first four substantive types of Edward the Confessor was *Pacx*, *Radiate/Small Cross*, *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and *Small Flan* or *Short Cross*¹. How revolutionary was this new ordering can be gathered from the circumstance that the Hildebrand types in the same sequence run D, A, C, B, and the Brooke types 4, 2, 1, 3. A few years later one of the present writers was able to publish an overstrike which confirmed that *Trefoil Quadrilateral* followed *Radiate/Small Cross*, in other words that Hildebrand and Brooke both were in error, Hildebrand in intercalating *Small Flan*, and Brooke in reversing the order². The question of sequence is far from being academic inasmuch as a decade earlier Mr. H. H. King could argue convincingly on the basis of the coins of the Steyning mint that *Trefoil Quadrilateral* was the first, or if not that at least the second, substantive type of the reign, certainly preceding *Pacx*³. The purpose of the present note is to put on record a mule which leaves little room for doubt that *Radiate/Small Cross* immediately follows *Pacx*. Since *Pacx* can be shown from hoard-evidence⁴ to be the first substantive type of the reign, the order of the first three issues must be *Pacx*, *Radiate/Small Cross* and *Trefoil Quadrilateral*, with *Small Flan* coming an obvious fourth immediately before *Expanding Cross* which all are agreed comes fifth.

The new piece of evidence is a coin from one of the great Swedish series of hoards, or more correctly a cut half of such a coin. The obverse reads:—

+ ED // // // // DREXI

the last letter forming the more predictable 'A' when taken in conjunction with the lefthand arm of the initial cross. There also appears the top of a diademed bust facing left, and the head of an elaborate quatrefoil sceptre. The reverse reads:—

/// ELFRIC ON I

the first and the last letters both being cut off at the upright. The reverse type is a small cross pattée, and it is not to tell tales out of school to say that originally the coin had been classified as a true coin of *Radiate/Small Cross* type. The obverse is indistinct, and it is really only the sceptre that gives the game away. The weight of the cut-halfpenny is 0.60 g. (9.3 gr.) which is perfectly normal for the period, and the provenance a small hoard of some forty English and three times that number of German coins, together with *hacksilver*, concealed about the middle of the eleventh century at Kvinnegårda in the parish of Havdhem on Gotland, and discovered at intervals in the years 1893 and 1894 (*Inv.* 9318 = *SG* 258).

¹ Peter Seaby, 'The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030-50', *BNJ*, XXVIII, i (1955), pp. 111-146.

² R. H. M. Dolley, 'New Light on the Order of the Early Issues of Edward the Confessor', *ibid.*, XXIX ii (1959), pp. 419-421.

³ H. H. King, 'The Steyning Mint', *ibid.*, XXIV,

i (1941), pp. 1-7.

⁴ Cf. the Wedmore hoard from Somerset and the Espinge hoard from Sweden—that the *Pacx* type is 'early' also emerges from the wide range of variants, cf. a paper by Mr. Dolley just appeared in the 1966 *Numismatic Chronicle*.

In the accompanying textblock, enlarged direct photographs are shown below mounted between enlarged photographs of a plaster cast of an unpublished coin in the British Museum, and enlarged direct photographs of Hild. Edw. Conf. 590. Both are pennies of the Lydford mint by the moneyer Ælfric, the sole Lydford moneyer at this period. The British Museum coin, a *Pax* penny, was acquired by exchange from L. A. Lawrence in 1928, and may be presumed to be from an English find (? a stray from Wedmore). It weighs 1.16 g. (17.9 gr.) and the obverse reading is:—

+ EDPERD = .DREXI

and the reverse:—

+ ÆL = FRI = CON = LYD.



A glance should be sufficient to show that it is from the same obverse die as the new mule from the Kvinnegårda hoard, and this link alone would surely suffice to associate the latter with a mint in Devon. The coin recorded by Hildebrand in the Systematic Collection at Stockholm has an obverse reading:—

+ EDPER = DREXA

while the reverse runs:—

+ ÆLFRIC ON LYDANFO,

the weight being 1.12 g. (17.3 gr.). Again it should require no more than a glance to establish that the reverse die is the same as that of the mule from Kvinnegårda. The mint-signature is impeccable, and that all three coins are of the Lydford mint seems incontrovertible. It may perhaps be added that these are not quite the latest coins of the mint and moneyer. That honour belongs to two *Small Flan* coins, BMC 812 and its die-duplicate Hild. 407,¹ though one wonders what the current excavations conducted by Mr. P. V. Addyman, F.S.A., may yet bring to light. One thing does seem certain. No more than five coins of Lydford

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Last Coins of the Mint at Lydford', *SNC*, 1958, pp. 161 & 162.

seem known for the reign of Edward the Confessor, the *Pacx* coin in the British Museum and a die-duplicate exhibited to the British Numismatic Society by Peter Seaby¹, the mule from Kvinnegårda, BMC 812 and Hild. 407 and 590. That the five coins are by one moneyer and from only three obverse and three reverse dies must suggest that the output of the mint was exiguous, and especially when there seems no common hoard-provenance.

In conclusion, readers of this *Journal* may find it convenient to have a cursory listing of the mules and overstrikes that support the Seaby sequence of types for the decade c. 1040–c. 1050. That *Pacx* follows *Arm-and-Sceptre* is indicated by a number of mules of Lincoln, Romney and Thetford.² The succession of *Pacx* by *Radiate/Small Cross* until now has been indicated by Lincoln mules which seem all from a single obverse die³, and an anomalous one at that in that the fleur-de-lis sceptre does not occur on a single specimen of the 23 *Pacx* coins illustrated to date in the British Academy's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*. Only the appearance of Mr. Mossop's promised *corpus* of Lincoln pence can establish finally whether the variety is to be accepted as a genuine quirk of a local die-engraver—we may also note the legend beginning before the bust instead of at the top of the coin—but the new mule from Lydford leaves little room for doubt that the sequence is valid if not the letter of the argumentation. That the *Radiate/Small Cross* type preceded *Trefoil Quadrilateral* has been shown by the Hereford overstrike to which allusion has already been made⁴, as well as by mules of Northampton, Worcester and York.⁵ Finally, the succession of *Trefoil Quadrilateral* by *Small Flan* emerged from a unique mule of Thetford, with two other mules of Wilton and Winchester 'skipping' the later type and going directly into *Expanding Cross*, the explanation of the 'skip' being doubtless the disproportion of the flans.⁶ In every case, it should be remarked, the mules are 'the-right-way-round', i.e. the obverse type is the earlier, something that increasingly is seen to be characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon series as a whole.⁷

It only remains for the authors to express their thanks to Förste antikvarie fil. dr. N. L. Rasmusson for permission to publish here the new coin from the Kvinnegårda hoard which is in his charge. The photographs were taken by Mr. Lyon, and for the casts of the coin in the British Museum we are indebted to Mr. K. A. Howes.

¹ *BNJ*, XXVIII, ii (1956), p. 430.

² Seaby, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 & 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 59, n. 2.

⁵ Seaby, *op. cit.*, p. 136—and now Winchester *cf. infra* p. 84.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137 (*cf. also* pp. 189 & 190).

⁷ *Cf.* R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Mythical "Helmet"'

"Long Cross" mules of Æthelræd II', *ibid.*, XXX i (1960), pp. 57–60: *idem*, 'A Mythical Second Hand/First Hand Mule of Æthelræd II', *SNC*, 1966, p. 236: *idem*, 'An Unpublished Link between the First and Second Hand types of Æthelræd II', *BNJ*, XXXV (1966), pp. 22–24: 'Æthelræd's Rochester Ravaging of 986—an Intriguing Numismatic Sidelight', *SNC*, 1967, pp. 33 & 34.

A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE ANGLO-SAXON ELEMENT IN THE 1966 FIND FROM TINGSTÄDE PARISH ON GOTLAND

By

MICHAEL DOLLEY, MRS. LILLEMOR LUNDSTRÖM and MISS GAY VAN DER MEER

THROUGH the kindness of Förste antikvarie fil. dr. N. L. Rasmusson, the Keeper of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet, we are able here to give details of the remarkable Anglo-Saxon element in a major Viking-Age coin-hoard discovered in the autumn of 1966 at a place called Karls in the parish of Tingstäde on the island of Gotland. For a preliminary account of the discovery, and an estimate of the number of Kufic, Byzantine, German and Scandinavian coins, one may consult with profit Antikvarie fil. dr. fru Brita Malmer's note 'Ett nytt Gotländskt fynd med Olav Tryggvason—och Olof Skötkonung-mynt' (*Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 1967, pp. 25-28). The 15 Hiberno-Norse coins, at least one of them of the very highest interest, are being published separately in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* by the Irish contributor to this present paper.¹ A few small fragments apart, the English coins total 777, and of these only a very few are cut or broken. A breakdown of them by reign and type runs as follows:—

EADGAR	'Reform'	2
EDWARD THE MARTYR		2
ÆTHELRÆD II	First Small Cross	1
	First Hand	26
	„ „ (left-facing)	2
	Second Hand	32
	Benediction Hand	4
	Benediction Hand / Crux mule	1
	Crux	268
	Small Crux	4
	Transitional Crux	2
	Transitional Crux / Crux mule	1
	Intermediate Small Cross / Crux mules	7
	Intermediate Small Cross	1
	Long Cross	181
	Long Cross / Subsidiary Long Cross mules	2
	Subsidiary Long Cross / Long Cross mules	3
	Subsidiary Long Cross	2
	Helmet	46
	Last Small Cross	106
	„ „ „ (right-facing)	1
CNUT	Quatrefoil	66
	„ (diademed bust)	2
	Pointed Helmet	11
	Short Cross	3
HAROLD I	Jewel Cross	1

777

¹ *JRSAI* 98, i (1968) [in the press].

The chronological pattern is unusual, even striking, and the hoard does present many problems. For the present, though, we will have to content ourselves with a bare list of the coins, the references being to the second edition of Bror Emil Hildebrand's classic *Anglo-sachsiska Mynt*, and it is a wry thought that it is not all that number of years since a listing of this kind would have been thought more than sufficient. It is hoped, though, that in an age when mediaeval hoards tend to lie completely unpublished, students of the Anglo-Saxon series will not entirely scorn this reasonably prompt account of a major hoard which is remarkable for the number of rarities which it includes. The format chosen is a summary catalogue type by type, with some of the more important pieces illustrated by direct photographs on the two accompanying plates (Pl. VIII and IX). For these photographs we are again indebted to the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet, and a special word of thanks is due to Förste fotograf N.G. Lagergren for their outstanding quality. After the names of the mints and moneyers, there appears the Hildebrand (BEH) number of the coin in the Systematic Collection of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet which most nearly corresponds to the coin in the hoard. The sign = indicates that the two coins are from the same dies, while *cf.* is intended to convey correspondence of reading without die-identity. In the second half of the twentieth century the distinction is an important one, and we feel that the very considerable extra labour involved has been justified. Where the readings of a hoard-coin are different, the Hildebrand (BEH) number is followed by *var.*, and the 'new' reading is indicated within curved brackets.

EADGAR, 'Reform' Type

<i>Oxford</i> , Wulfred	= BEH 35
<i>Winchester</i> , Eatstan	BEH 48 <i>var.</i> (PINTO)

A minor mystery which awaits solution is why Wulfred's Oxford coins in this type are so common in Swedish finds from the 1704 Näs hoard onwards.

EDWARD THE MARTYR

<i>Shaftesbury</i> , Byrhtwold	BEH — [Pl. VIII, 1]
<i>Southampton</i> , 'Lanbihit'	BEH — [Pl. VIII, 2]

Shaftesbury does not figure as a mint of Edward the Martyr in North's standard *English Hammered Coinage*, and no coin of the mint has been thrown up by Mr. C. E. Blunt's card-index based on sale-catalogues of the last century and a half. The moneyer, however, is known for the mint in both the preceding and the succeeding reigns (*e.g.* BEH Eadgar 38 and Æthelræd 3339), and the attribution of the present coin to Shaftesbury cannot well be faulted. The interest of the Southampton coin lies in the mint-signature HABIC which must be for Hamwic or Hamwih. In the standard works of reference the Hamwic mint-signature—which must be for Southampton—does not occur before the reign of Æthelræd II, but on the basis of a coin in the Elmore Jones cabinet North has given the moneyer Landbriht for the reign under the heading 'Northampton/Southampton (Han)', and at the very least the new coin removes a doubt. Also relevant in this context is a coin of Eadgar's Reform type by the same moneyer, Landbriht, on which the mint name reads HAB . In the Bruun sale (1925) lot 118, this coin was tentatively attributed to Harwich, an attribution which must be abandoned in favour of Wells' attribution to "Hamwic" (see *BNJ* XIX (1927–28), p. 88). The evidence of the two coins cited above leaves no doubt that the mint is, in fact, Hamwic.

Subsequently Mr. Blunt has begun work on a fresh study of the pre-Æthelræd coins of the mints of Northampton and Southampton, and it is hoped that this will appear in the next number of this *Journal*. In the meantime, the attribution of the 'Lanbihit' (= Landbriht) coin in the present hoard to Southampton must seem perfectly acceptable.

ÆTHELRÆD II

First Small Cross Type.

Lincoln, Rodbert

BEH —

The moneyer, however, appears in North for the mint and type, presumably on the basis of *BMC* 153 which is, though, from other dies. Other examples of coins of the type, mint and moneyer have been noticed both in the British Museum and in the cabinet of Sir Francis Hill.

First Hand Type.

Bedford, Byrnwine		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 3]
Canterbury, Leofric	cf.	BEH 198
Chester, Eadric	=	BEH 1506
„ Wullaf		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 4]
Exeter, Ælfstan	rev. =	BEH 465
„ Luda	obv. =	BEH 563
Lincoln, Færthen	=	BEH 1764
„ Godinc		BEH 1774 var. (LANDCOL)
London, Æthelred (2)		BEH —
„ Æthered (2)	cf.	BEH 2196 var. (M ¹⁰) & 2199
„ Eadwold	=	BEH 2423
„ Leofstan	cf.	BEH 2715
Lydford, Æthered	cf.	BEH 3026
Southampton, Isegl		BEH 1300 var. (ISEGL and HAMVIC)
Thetford, Osfyrrh		BEH 3794/5 var. (OSFYRD and DEOTFORD = NC 1949, Pl. XII, 7).
Totnes, Dodda (2)	=	BEH 3841 and = BEH 3842
„ Manna	=	BEH 3855
Wilton, Eadwine	obv. =	BEH 3993
Winchester, Ælfsige	cf.	BEH 4047/8
„ Byrhtneth	cf.	BEH 4165
„ Wulfstan		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 5]
York, Beolan		BEH 638 var. (e 4 and EORF)

First Hand Type—Variety with Left-facing Bust.

Chester, Ælfstan (2) both = BEH 1492

It is not without significance that the new hoard provides 4 more specimens of *First Hand* coins of Chester, bringing the total known to 21, but that 3 should be from dies already recorded.

Selected for illustration are the coin of Bedford, apparently unpublished though North does record a moneyer Byrhwine for the reign, the certainly unique and unpublished penny of the Chester moneyer Wullaf, and the Wulfstan penny of Winchester, a surprising absentee from the Stockholm collection in Hildebrand's day since specimens are in the British Museum (*BMC* 360) and the Royal Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen (*SCBI* 1439), while also to be noted are two further specimens, from different dies, which have come into the Stockholm cabinet since 1881.

The critical coin among the newcomers is undoubtedly the Chester coin of the moneyer Wullaf. It adds an eleventh obverse and twelfth reverse to the very meagre total of dies known to have been used at Chester in the years immediately following the Viking descent on Wirral recorded in the *ASC s.a.* 980 (cf. *BNJ XXXIII* (1964), p. 43)—and significantly in this connection the Eadric coin of the same mint is the fifth specimen to be recorded which is from the dies of BEH 1506. To be commended to the student of this period is the incidence of coins from 'new' dies, and especially the geographical pattern of the mints where this is not pronounced. One wonders, in fact, how long it will be until those seekers after novelty who are not historians by training will tumble to the fact that there are perfectly good historical reasons why *First Hand* coins should have come down to us in greater quantity than those of the succeeding type.

Second Hand Type.

Barnstaple, Ælfsige	=	BEH 7
„ Byrhsige		BEH 23 var. a 10, see below [Pl. VIII, 6]
Canterbury, Leofric (2)	cf.	BEH 198 (= one rev.)
Dover, Osferth		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 7]
Leicester, Dun	cf.	BEH 1585
London, Ælfgar	cf.	BEH 2031
„ Ælfget	cf.	BEH 2048/9 (9, LVNDO)
„ Byrhsige		BEH 2274 var. (LVNDO)
„ Byrhtlaf		BEH 2275 var. (a 10 and BYRHTLAF)
„ Eadmund	cf.	BEH 2332
„ Eadsige	cf.	BEH 2373 var. (h 9)
„ Eadwi	cf.	BEH 2391 var. (a 10)
„ Godwine (3)	cf.	BEH 2618 & 2619 (2)
„ Leofstan	obv. =	BEH 2718
„ Oscytel (2)	cf.	BEH 2847 and = BEH 2849
„ Osferth	cf.	BEH 2854 (OSFERD)
„ Osulf	cf.	BEH 2879 var. (LVDONI)
N.B. The second of the Oscytel coins is badly chipped.		
Lydford, Godwine	cf.	BEH 3063
Maldon, Siwold		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 8]
Oxford, Æthelmær		BEH 3218 var. (OXAN)
Rochester, Leofric		BEH 3293 var. (g 10 and ROF)
Shaftesbury, Æthelgar	cf.	BEH 3324
„ Æthelwi		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 9]
Stamford, Ælfgar		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 10]
Winchester, Eadsige	cf.	BEH 4511 var. (a 10)
„ Osulf		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 11]
Uncertain mint, Goda		Cut halfpenny
Uncertain mint, ... a		Cut farthing

Again we would draw attention to the low incidence of die-linking with coins already in the Systematic Collection at Stockholm, but it should not be necessary to labour this point. In itself the new hoard should be sufficient finally to dispose of the suggestion that *Second Hand* is not a substantive type, and particularly to be emphasized is the circumstance that we have so many 'new' dies for 'known' moneyers. Even so, the 32 coins do provide a mint, Dover, not recorded by Hildebrand for the type (but see *Dona Numismatica* (Hamburg 1965), p. 69, n. 14), and the names of no fewer than four moneyers 'new' for the mint and type. Illustrated are the Byrhsige coin of Barnstaple, not the only example of anomalous

work at this mint at this period; the formally unpublished coin of Dover; the completely 'new' coin of the Maldon moneyer Siwold, a piece of quite exceptional interest inasmuch as one may wonder whether the anomalous work does not betoken some connection with the celebrated campaign of 991; and the coins of the three moneyers who seem unpublished for the type at the mints of Shaftesbury, Stamford and Winchester respectively. Æthelwi(g), of course, is well-known at Shaftesbury in the succeeding type, as is Ælfgar at Stamford, but the coins published here do seem to be their earliest coins which have come down to us. Osulf, on the other hand, would seem to be completely 'new' as a Winchester moneyer at this period, but it is difficult to see what other mint could be indicated by the very full mint-signature PI(n)TONI, and for some at least of us a coin such as this must be a very satisfying reminder of how little really is known about a type which has been the occasion of so much pontification and so little comprehension.

Benediction Hand Variety.

a) *transitional variety with diadem.*

London, Osferd BEH 2852 var. (see below) [Pl. VIII, 12]

b) *exactly as the illustration in Hildebrand.*

Canterbury, Eadwold = BEH 156
 Thetford, Eadgar = BEH 3698
 Winchester, Ælfsige BEH — [Pl. VIII, 13]

Two of the coins of this rare variety are of unusual interest, and so are chosen for illustration here. Unlike BEH 2852, the London coin is of the intermediate or transitional variety still with diadem which was distinguished for the first time in *Commentationes* I (Stockholm, 1961), p. 178. The Winchester coin adds the name of a fourth moneyer for the type and mint.

Benediction Hand|Crux mule.

Barnstaple, (Byrh)sige = BEH 27

This sheared two-thirds of a coin proves to be from the same dies as the whole coin selected by Hildebrand to illustrate his C.d. variety.

Crux type.

Bath, Wynstan = BEH 72
 Cambridge, Ælfric (2) one = BEH 1139; one, rev. = BEH 1141
 „ Ælfwine BEH 1148 var. (GRAN)
 „ Eadwine rev. = BEH 1158
 „ Edric (2) one = BEH 1161; one cf. BEH 1161
 „ Wulfgar (2) cf. BEH 1200
 Canterbury, Duda cf. BEH 138
 „ Eadwold (7) cf. BEH 146 & 147 (6)
 „ Goldwine = BEH 188
 „ Leofric obv. = BEH 199
 „ Leofstan (5) cf. BEH 219 & 220 (4)
 „ Lifinc (2) one cf. BEH 233; one, obv. = BEH 233
 Colchester, Sidwine BEH 307 var. (COL.)
 „ Swetinc (2) one = BEH 310; one, rev. = BEH 311
 „ Wulfric (2) one = BEH 320; one BEH 321 var. (g 9)

Crux type (cont.)

<i>Cricklade</i> ,	Sæwine (2)	one	BEH 342 var. (CROH) [Pl. VIII, 14]: one, obv. = BEH 342 but rev. var. CROCI
<i>Derby</i> ,	Guner		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 15]
<i>Dorchester</i> ,	Wulfnoth	obv. =	BEH 436
<i>Dover</i>	?		Cut halfpenny
<i>Exeter</i> ,	Ælfstan (2)		BEH 467 var. (M—O)
„	Byrhferth (2)	obv. =	BEH 473 but var. BYRHFERD
„	Byrhstan		= BEH 490
„	Edric	cf.	BEH 517
„	Goda	cf.	BEH 536
„	Hunewine (3)	cf.	BEH 545
„	Tuna	obv. =	BEH 588
„	Wynsige		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 16]
„	?		Cut halfpenny
<i>Hereford</i> ,	Ælfget	cf.	BEH 1322
„	Byrhstan		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 17]
„	Leofgar (3)	one, obv. =	BEH 1344: one cf. BEH 1344: one BEH 1344 var. LOFGAR
<i>Hertford</i> ,	Boga	cf.	BEH 1308
„	Edwi (4)	cf.	BEH 1313
„	Wulfrie	cf.	BEH 1317
<i>Huntingdon</i> ,	Ælfrie (2)		= BEH 1358
<i>Ilchester</i> ,	God (3)	one, obv. =	BEH 1026: one cf. BEH 1023: one cf. BEH 1024
„	Leofsige	cf.	BEH 1039
<i>Ipswich</i> ,	Leofsige	cf.	BEH 1064
<i>Leicester</i> ,	Wulfget	cf.	BEH 1600
<i>Lewes</i> ,	Ælfgar		= BEH 1402
„	Leofwine (2)	one =	BEH 1447: one cf. BEH 1444
„	Oswold	cf.	BEH 1470
<i>Lincoln</i> ,	Colgrim	cf.	BEH 1703
„	Garfin (3)	one, cf.	BEH 1769: one cf. BEH 1770: one BEH 1770 var. (L-)
„	Gife	cf.	BEH 1772
„	Stignbit (2)	one cf.	BEH 1894: one cf. BEH 1895
„	Sunugod		BEH 1925 var. (SVNUGOD and LINC) [Pl. VIII, 18]
„	Theodge(l)d (3)	one cf.	BEH 1931: one cf. BEH 1932: cut halfpenny cf. BEH 1931
„	Unb(egn)	cf.	BEH 1965/6—fragment
„	?		Cut halfpenny
<i>London</i> ,	Ælfgar (6)	cf.	BEH 2035, 2306, 2037 & 2038 (3)
„	Ælfget (2)		BEH 2051 var. (a.9)
„	Ælfnoth (4)	cf.	BEH 2068 (3) & 2070
„	Ælfstan		BEH 2091 var. (ir. 57)
„	Ælfwine	rev. =	BEH 2120
„	Æthe(l)red (3)	one =	BEH 2207: one cf. BEH 2207: one cf. BEH 2208.
„	Æthelverd (3)	cf.	BEH 2159
„	Coolnoth (3)	one =	BEH 2291: two cf. BEH 2290
„	Eadmund	cf.	BEH 2335
„	E(a)dsige (3)	one =	BEH 2375: one cf. BEH 2461: one cf. BEH 2462
„	Eadwi		BEH — but see below
„	E(a)dwine (4)	one	BEH 2399 var. (g. 9): one cf. BEH 2482: two cf. BEH 2484
„	Eadwold	cf.	BEH 2424
„	Ealhstan	cf.	BEH 2447
„	God (2)	one, obv. =	BEH 2520: one cf. BEH 2519

Crux Type (cont.)

<i>London,</i>	Godwine	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 2622/3
"	Goldwine	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 2648
"	Leofric	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 2684
"	Leofstan (2)	one	BEH 2719 var. (ir. 55): one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2719
"	Leofwine (2)	one =	BEH 2747: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2748
"	Lifinc	=	BEH 2784
"	Osmund (2)	=	BEH 2868
"	Swetinc (4)	one =	BEH 2919: one, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 2918: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2918: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2919
"	Thorsige (2)	one =	BEH 2945: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2945
"	Wulfgar	=	BEH 2960
"	Wulfnoth (2)	one =	BEH 2966: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2966
"	Wulfstan	=	BEH 2987
<i>Lymne,</i>	Leofric (3)	one =	BEH 1614: one = BEH 1616: one, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 1616
<i>Maldon,</i>	Ælfwine (3)	one =	BEH 3068: one = BEH 3070: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3069
<i>Malmesbury,</i>	Ealdred	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3083
<i>Norwich,</i>	Edelwine (2)	=	BEH 3121
"	Folcard	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3128
<i>Rochester,</i>	Sidwine (5)	one =	BEH 3306: one = BEH 3307: three <i>cf.</i> BEH 3308
<i>Shaftesbury,</i>	Æthelgar	=	BEH 3325
"	Æthelwi	=	BEH 3333
"	Goda	<i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3343
<i>Shrewsbury,</i>	Brungar	=	BEH 3365
<i>Southampton,</i>	Isege (3)	two =	BEH 1301: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 1301
<i>Southwark,</i>	Ælfnoth (2)	one, <i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3577 var. (svdby): one BEH 3577 var. (mo)
"	Ælfric (8)	one <i>rev.</i> =	BEH 3580: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3633: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3635: five BEH 3579/80 var. (svdby)
"	Æthelwerd (3)	one =	BEH 3584: two <i>cf.</i> BEH 3584
"	Boga (2)	one, <i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3640: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3640
"	Byrhtelm (2)	one =	BEH 3591: one BEH 3595 var. m ^o
"	Byrhtlaf (4)	one =	BEH 3590: two, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 3597: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3596
"	Byrhtic (4) fragment	=	BEH 3645: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 3648: one, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 3649: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3649
"	Eadwi	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3602
"	Godric (4)	one, <i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3606: three <i>cf.</i> BEH 3607
"	Godwine (2)	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3615
"	Tuneman (2)	one, <i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3629: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3664
<i>Thelford,</i>	Boge	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3690
"	Byrhtic	<i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3692
"	Eadgar	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3699
"	Edwerd	=	BEH 3722
"	Godeman	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3745
"	Leofwine	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3763
"	Osber	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3782
<i>Totnes,</i>	Ælfstan	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3832
"	Byrhtwine	<i>obv.</i> =	BEH 3838 but var. BYRHTPNE
"	Doda (2)	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3840
<i>Wallingford,</i>	Ælfric	=	BEH 3893
"	Alf(wold)	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3906—broken half
<i>Wareham,</i>	Ælfgar	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3944
"	Byrhtsige (3)	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 3952
"	Wulfic	=	BEH 3960
<i>Wilton,</i>	Ælfwerd	BEH	— [Pl. VIII, 19]
"	Boga	BEH	3991 var. (BOGA)

Crux type (cont.)

Wilton,	Sæwinc (3)	two cf.	BEH 4011: one cf. BEH 40 12
„	Wulfgar	cf.	BEH 4023
Winchester,	Ælfsige (3)	one =	BEH 4051: two cf. BEH 4051
„	Æthelgar (2)	one =	BEH 4067: one cf. BEH 4067
„	Æthestan (2)	cf.	BEH 4084
„	Alfwold (2)	one rev. =	BEH 4097: one cf. BEH 4097
„	Beorhtnoth		BEH 4110 var. (BEORHTNOD) [Pl. VIII, 20]
„	Berhtnath	cf.	BEH 4112
„	Brihtnath		BEH 4113 var. (BRIHTNAD) [Pl. VIII, 21]
„	Byrhnoth		BEH 4108 var. (BYRHOD)
„	Byrhsige (8)	one =	BEH 4145: one, rev. = BEH 4144: three cf. BEH 4144: three cf. BEH 4145
„	Eadsige	cf.	BEH 4212
„	Godwine	=	BEH 4237
„	Leofwold (2)	cf.	BEH 4277
„	Toca	obv. =	BEH 4325: rev. cf. BEH 4324
York,	Brehtwine (2)	cf.	BEH 647
„	Harnceytel	rev. =	BEH 716
„	Leofstan		BEH 757 var. (l 9 and eor)
„	Oban	cf.	BEH 773, struck on eccentric flan, wt. 29.6 gr. (1.92 g.), ? not English
„	Osulf Thein		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 22]
„	Othgrim		BEH 853 var. (ODGRIM)
„	Swart		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 23]
„	Thurcetel		BEH — [Pl. VIII, 24]
„	Thurstan	cf.	BEH 947
„	Wynegos	cf.	BEH 1011
<i>Uncertain mints, (C), . . .fwine: (E), ? Cut halfpence</i>			
<i>Uncertain mints, Byrhsig., Edward, God, Leofsig., Oswald, ... dwold, ... werd. Cut halfpence</i>			

The Cricklade coin chosen for illustration is that with the more interesting variety of mint-signature (CROH). Likewise figuring on the plates is the penny by the Derby moneyer Guner who is not formally published for the type, though another coin from the same dies occurs in an unpublished Swedish hoard. In the same way, Wyncsige was known by Hildebrand at Exeter only in the succeeding *Long Cross* issue, and so is illustrated here though already recorded on the strength of a second specimen in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet (*SCBI* 217), while the great Swedish numismatist knew Byrhstan at Hereford only from an *Intermediate Small Cross/Transitional Crux* mule, though we can point to two more Copenhagen coins (*SCBI* 427/8). On the other hand, the spelling Sunugod on a coin of Lincoln can be matched only on an unpublished coin in the University Cabinet at Lund.

There has seemed little point, though, in illustrating the coin of the London moneyer Eadwi when Hildebrand has put on record two of his coins with the spelling EDPI (BEH 2472/3). Only of minor interest, too are the coins of his colleague Thorsige (?) where on one die the bar of the initial 'ð' is as clear as from the other it is certainly absent, which may seem to raise anew the question whether or not there has been confusion between the quite acceptable prototheme *D(e)or-* (cf. BEH 2300 in the same type) and the seemingly just as well attested and even more obvious *Thor-*. The problem is one that merits full discussion in another place, and no less worthy of extended comment is the quite remarkable run of coins of the Southwark mint. There are six more coins, however, which deserve illustration

even in a preliminary report of this kind, and three are from West Saxon mints and three from York. The Wilton coin of Ælfwerd appears to provide an entirely 'new' and unpublished moneyer for the mint. On this coin the third letter of the mint-signature admittedly is not as clear as one might have wished, but if not 'L' could only have been 'N', and Ælfwerd is not known at Winchester at this period. That the mint is Wilton cannot in fact be disputed since another unpublished Swedish hoard (SHM Inv. 16200) has thrown up a second specimen from the same dies, and the reading þILT is quite certain. The two coins illustrated from Winchester exhibit an unpublished contortion of the name Beorhtnoth, and a further metathesis Brihtnath which has been recorded for the mint hitherto only in the immediately preceding *Benediction Hand* variety. The three York coins are all of very considerable significance. Pride of place must surely be given to the penny of Osulf Thein which appears to present us with a quite unrecorded example of a double name, and one that is of the very greatest importance for the historian inasmuch as it may be thought to shed new light on the probable social status of the Anglo-Saxon moneyer. The coin of Swart not only furnishes us with a new moneyer for the type, but gives us a new spelling at York for this particular personal name. The name Thurcetel is rare enough on English coins of the late Anglo-Saxon period to arouse interest and especially at this period when he is found striking at Torksey and Northampton.

Small Crux Variety.

<i>Canterbury</i> , Eadwold (3)	one = BEH 157: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 148: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 149
<i>Exeter</i> , Goda	<i>cf.</i> BEH 538

None of these coins would seem in any way remarkable.

Transitional Crux Variety.

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| a) <i>with diadem and sceptre</i> | |
| <i>Dorchester</i> , Wulfnoth | BEH — [Pl. IX, 25] |
| b) <i>with sceptre but without diadem</i> | |
| <i>Oxford</i> , Ælfwine | BEH — [Pl. IX, 26] |

The coin of Dorchester is of critical importance. It is thought to be the first time that there has been recorded a true coin of this particular variety, though mules have long been known from Aylesbury, Buckingham and Totnes (*cf.* *BNJ* XXIX, ii (1959), p. 263 etc.). It cannot fail to be noticed, too, that Dorchester is the mint of the variety which has neither sceptre nor diadem—*cf.* unpublished coins from the Igelösa hoard in the University Museum at Lund—and it is instructive to plot on a map the mints of the *Transitional Crux* variety and of its mules. That the dies emanated from Winchester cannot seriously be doubted. The Oxford coin also is of some interest, if only because the die-duplicate recorded in another of the unpublished Swedish hoards (*cf.* *BNJ* XXVIII, i (1955), p. 85) has not been illustrated.

Transitional Crux/Crux mule.

Variety with neither sceptre nor diadem.

<i>Shaftesbury</i> , Wulfrie	BEH — [Pl. IX, 27]
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Until now the combination of this particular obverse variety and a true *Crux* reverse has been known from only one coin, a unique penny in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet by the

Exeter moneyer Edric (*SCBI* 174). It is only less interesting that this is the very first time that the *Transitional Crux* variety has been associated in any way with the Shaftesbury mint, and one may even begin to wonder whether the discovery of more hoards will not reveal that at least one pair of dies of the variety in question had been sent out to each and every West Country mint.

Intermediate Small Cross/Crux mules.

Exeter,	Byrhtstan	=	BEH 491
Ilchester,	Hunewine		BEH — [Pl. IX, 28]
London,	Byrhtmær	rev. =	BEH 2280
„	Leofric		BEH — [Pl. IX, 29]
Southampton,	Godman		BEH — [Pl. IX, 30]
Winchester,	Godwine	obv. =	BEH 4241
„	Leofwold	cf.	BEH 4278

Three of these rare mules would seem to be unpublished where *Anglosachsiska mynt* is concerned, and so deserve illustration here. Until now, Ilchester had been known for the true *Intermediate Small Cross* type but not for the mule, while the coin of the London moneyer Leofric gives us a hoard-provenance for the third of the moneyers of the mule at the most important of the English mints—until this hoard the authority was a unique coin in the Elmore Jones collection. Curiously there are two reverse dies—the second now hoard-attested by the Lummelunda coin described below (*infra*, p. 83). It is the Southampton coin, however, that will surely command the most attention, since until now the mint has not provided us with a true coin of the variety or the mule, rather surprisingly perhaps when it is considered how close ‘Hamwic’ lay to Winchester, the centre surely from which we may suppose all the *Intermediate Small Cross* dies to have been distributed.

Intermediate Small Cross Variety.

Gloucester,	Godwine	=	BEH 1100
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Long Cross Type.

Bath,	Ælfrie	obv. =	BEH 39 var. (ir. 111)
„	Æthelric	cf.	BEH 45
„	Edstan (3)	one =	BEH 61: two = BEH 62
„	Wynstan (2)	one, rev. =	BEH 75: one cf. BEH 73
Bridport,	Eadnoth	=	BEH 109
Cambridge,	Ælfrie	=	BEH 1142
„	Godric	=	BEH 1182 (ir. 107)
Canterbury,	Eadwold (4)	one =	BEH 153: one, obv. = BEH 150: one cf. BEH 152: one cf. BEH 153
„	Godwine	=	BEH 182
„	Leofric (4)	two =	BEH 207: one = BEH 208: one cf. BEH 207
„	Leofstan	cf.	BEH 224
„	Wulfwig	=	BEH 252 (? Scandinavian)
Chester,	Elewne	rev. =	BEH 1515 (normal a. 10 obv.)
„	Leofwine (2)	one =	BEH 1550: one = BEH 1552
„	 e		Cut halfpenny
Dover,	Godwine (2)	=	BEH 413
Exeter,	Ælfnoth	cf.	BEH 450
„	Dunstan (3)	cf.	BEH 508

Long Cross Type (cont.)

<i>Exeter,</i>	God (2)	<i>obv.</i> = BEH 532
„	Mangod (2)	<i>cf.</i> BEH 575
„	Manna (4)	one = BEH 577: two, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 578: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 579
„	Wynsige (4)	one = BEH 604: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 602: two <i>cf.</i> BEH 603
<i>Gloucester,</i>	Leofsige	<i>obv.</i> = BEH 1125
<i>Hereford,</i>	Byrhstan	BEH 1337 var. (MΩO)
„	 n	Cut halfpenny
<i>Hertford,</i>	Wulfrie	BEH — [Pl. IX, 31]
<i>Ilchester,</i>	God	<i>cf.</i> BEH 1028
<i>Lewes,</i>	Ælfgar	<i>rev.</i> = BEH 1403
„	Merewine	BEH 1461 var. (a 5, ir. 66)
<i>Lincoln,</i>	Ælfsig	<i>cf.</i> BEH 1626
„	Colgrim	BEH 1710 var. (a. 3)
„	Dreng (2)	one = BEH 1740: one = BEH 1741
„	Ethelnoth (2)	one = BEH 1756 (? Scandinavian as there exists a square-flan striking): one <i>cf.</i> BEH 1756
„	Grim	<i>cf.</i> BEH 1788
„	Osmund (2)	one = BEH 1845: one = BEH 1848
„	Sumerleth	= BEH 1910
„	Unbein (3)	one = BEH 1972: one, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 1973 (a. 5): cut halfpenny
„	Wulfrie	<i>cf.</i> BEH 2010
<i>London,</i>	Ælfwine (4)	one = BEH 2130: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 2128: two <i>cf.</i> BEH 2130
„	Æthelwerd (6)	one = BEH 2168: one = BEH 2172: three <i>cf.</i> BEH 2169: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2172
„	Brihtlaf (2)	one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2235: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2236
„	Brunsten (2)	two <i>cf.</i> BEH 2262
„	'Dærul'	= BEH 2299
„	Eadmund	<i>obv.</i> = BEH 2347
„	Eadwold (5)	one = BEH 2427: three <i>cf.</i> BEH 2428: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2433
„	Edwine	= BEH 2489
„	Godeman	= BEH 2535
„	Godric	<i>cf.</i> BEH 2587 but no pellet
„	Godwine (6)	one = BEH 2631: three <i>cf.</i> BEH 2631: two <i>cf.</i> BEH 2634
„	Heawulf	= BEH 2661
„	'Lafe'	= BEH 2666
„	Leofnoth (2)	one = BEH 2674: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2672
„	Leofred	= BEH 2679
„	Leofric (3)	one BEH 2688 var. (a. 5): one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2693: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2694
„	Leofryd (3)	one = BEH 2707: two <i>cf.</i> BEH 2707
„	Leofstan (5)	one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 2722: four <i>cf.</i> BEH 2721
„	Leofwine (4)	one = BEH 2758: one = BEH 2759: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2757: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2763
„	Lyfinc (2)	one = BEH 2825: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 2830
„	Sibwine (4)	two = BEH 2901: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 2905: one BEH 2904 var. (g, ir. 111)
<i>London,</i>	Swetinc	<i>cf.</i> BEH 2926
„	Wulfstan (3)	one = BEH 2990: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2990: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 2991
„	Wulfwine	= BEH 3010
<i>Lydford,</i>	Ælfstan (2)	one = BEH 3024: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 3022
„	Goda	= BEH 3055
<i>Lymne,</i>	Godric	= BEH 1610
<i>Northampton,</i>	Wulfrie	= BEH 1288

Long Cross Type (cont.)

Norwich,	Ælfrie (2)	one = BEH 3097: one = BEH 3099
„	Hwatemán (2)	one = BEH 3137: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 3137, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 3140
„	Swertinc (3)	one = BEH 3188: two = BEH 3193
Oxford,	Æthelwine	<i>rev.</i> = BEH 3240
„	Godinc	<i>rev.</i> = BEH 3255
Shaftesbury,	Æthelwig	<i>cf.</i> BEH 3334
„	Goda	= BEH 3346
„	Lufa	= BEH 3349
Shrewsbury,	Ælfheh	<i>cf.</i> BEH 3361
Stamford,	Crist(h)in (2)	one = BEH 3459 var. (CRISDIN M'o): one BEH 3460
„	Godæg	= BEH 3483
„	Godel(e)of (4)	two <i>cf.</i> BEH 3500: two BEH 3500 var. (GODELOF)
„	Swertgar	<i>cf.</i> BEH 3559
„	?	Cut halfpenny
Sudbury,	Man	BEH — [Pl. IX, 32]
Thetford,	Mana (2)	one = BEH 3772: one, <i>rev.</i> = BEH 3772
„	Osbern (2)	one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3785: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 3788
Torksey,	Alfeyt(e)l	BEH — [Plate IX, 33]
Wallingford,	Wulfwine	<i>rev.</i> = BEH 3941
Wareham,	Ælfsige	= BEH 3948
Warwick,	Æthestan	= BEH 3868
Watchet,	Hunewine	= BEH 3883
Winchester,	Ælfsige (2)	one = BEH 4060: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 4058
„	Æthelgar	<i>cf.</i> BEH 4072
„	Alfwold	= BEH 4101
„	Godeman	= BEH 4224
„	Godwine (2)	one = BEH 4242: one, <i>obv.</i> = BEH 4243
„	Leofwold	<i>rev.</i> = BEH 4280
„	Wulfnoth	= BEH 4334
Worcester,	Wulfrie	= BEH 3989
York,	Eadrie	<i>cf.</i> BEH 693
„	Leofstan	<i>cf.</i> BEH 759
„	Oban	<i>cf.</i> BEH 781
„	Steorcer	= BEH 869
„	Swert	= BEH 906
„	Sumerlida	= BEH 891
„	Wulfsige (2)	one <i>rev.</i> = BEH 997: one BEH 997 var. (a. 5)
Uncertain mint,	?	Cut halfpenny

Comparatively few of the coins of this type have seemed to merit illustration. It is, of course, satisfactory to have new evidence that Hertford was, *pace* Hildebrand, a *Long Cross* mint, Wulfrie being a well-known Hertford moneyer at this period, and so quite acceptable as a mint-signature when viewed against the conflation of HORT (BEH 1400) and HRT (SCBI Fitzwilliam 694) already attested in the case of a colleague Godric. Man, though, is by no means unknown as a moneyer of Sudbury for all that no coin of his figures in *Anglo-sachsiska mynt*—we may instance die-duplicates of this coin which have occurred in at least two Swedish coin-hoards (Stora Sojdeby and SHM Inv. 23040)—and we would question North's attribution of these coins to Southwark. Unless we are mistaken, too, Man's die is the sole evidence that the Sudbury mint was not entirely dormant during the *Long Cross* issue—BEH 3609/10/11 and 3624/5/6 do seem to us to be coins of Southwark despite the apparent Sudbury mint-signature—and hence the decision to illustrate the Tingstäde specimen

here. By North, too, Alfcytel is given as a moneyer of Torksey with a mark of interrogation, and very properly inasmuch as the attribution has rested hitherto on a coin in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet (*SCBI* 1249) which exhibits the somewhat coarse 'Eastern' work which it is often very difficult indeed to distinguish from Scandinavian. The newly discovered coin, on the other hand, is from dies that unquestionably emanate from the major die-cutting centre (? Winchester) which sent out dies to virtually all the English mints at the type's inception. Thus, Torksey is finally vindicated as a mint of the *Long Cross* issue, and Arneytel as a moneyer of the mint in question.

Long Cross/Subsidiary Long Cross Mules.

London,	Edsige	obv. = BEH 2464 [Pl. IX, 34]
„	Leofwine	BEH 2754 var. (a. 4) [Pl. IX, 35]

In her most valuable paper (*BNJ* XXXIV (1965), pp. 37–41) where this *Subsidiary Long Cross* sub-type was distinguished for the first time, Mrs. V. J. Smart did not attempt to draw up any systematic listing of mules combining obverses of normal *Long Cross* type with reverses of the new variety, and few will wish to blame her inasmuch as the criteria of *Subsidiary Long Cross* reverses are much more subtle than those of the obverses, and may be so very easily obliterated by mis-striking or damage to the actual coin. It seems unlikely, though, that Mrs. Butler would reject the classification here suggested for the two coins in question.

Subsidiary Long Cross/Long Cross Mules.

London,	Ælfwine	= BEH 2129 [Pl. IX, 36]
„	Edsige	rev. = BEH 2465 (var. a. 3) [Pl. IX, 37]
„	Leofric	BEH 2690 [Pl. IX, 38]

Again Mrs. Smart has given no formal list of these mules, and we may suppose for the same reason. It is extremely difficult to decide in certain cases to which category a particular reverse belongs, but it is felt that the lettering of the reverses of these three coins is inconsistent with that of the obverses.

Subsidiary Long Cross Variety.

Canterbury,	Lifine	= BEH 236
Lincoln,	Ælfsige	= BEH 1628

Die-duplicates are duly described and illustrated in Mrs. Smart's paper.

Helmet Type.

Chester,	Ælfstan (2)	obv. = BEH 1500
Exeter,	Ælfmær	= BEH 443
„	Ælfnoth	= BEH 452
„	Carla	BEH 501 var. (M.O)
„	Wulfsige	= BEH 596
'Gothaburh',	Wulfmær	cf. BEH 1136
Ipswich,	Leofwine	BEH — [Pl. IX, 39]
Lincoln,	Osmund	rev. = BEH 1849
London,	Æthelmær	= BEH 2150
„	Æthelwerd (2) one cf.	BEH 2176; one BEH 2178 var. (LVNDEN)

Helmet Type (cont.)

London,	Goda (2)	= BEH 2531
„	Godwine (4)	one = BEH 2636: one = BEH 2638: one cf. BEH 2637: one BEH 2636 var. (a. 2, MO LV)
„	Leofred (2)	one, rev. = BEH 2680: one cf. BEH 2680
„	Leofric	cf. BEH 2701
„	Leofwine (3)	two = BEH 2768: one = BEH 2770
„	Lyfinc (2)	one = BEH 2836: one cf. BEH 2835
„	Wulfstan (2)	one cf. BEH 2998: one BEH 2994 var. (MO and crosses in opposed angles)
„	 da	Cut halfpenny
Nottingham,	Oswold	BEH — [Pl. IX, 40]
Oxford,	Ælfwine	rev. = BEH 3215
Rochester,	Eadwerd	= BEH 3280
Shaftesbury,	Sæwine	= BEH 3355
Stamford,	Escea	= BEH 3470
Thetford,	Manna	BEH 3778 var. (M'O DEODF)
Winchester,	Alfwold	= BEH 4102
„	Byrthsige	rev. = BEH 4153
„	Byrns(t)an	BEH — [Pl. IX, 41]
„	Leofwine	= BEH 4264
„	Spileman	BEH 4318 var. (MO)
Worcester,	Durant	= BEH 3971
York,	Arthor (2)	one = BEH 623: one = BEH 625
„	Cetel	obv. = BEH 666, rev. BEH 666 var. (M'O EOFRI)
„	Hildulf	= BEH 733
„	Thorstan	= BEH 938

The coins illustrated are those 'new' where Hildebrand at least is concerned, the Leofwine of Ipswich (but see *BNJ* XXIX, ii (1959) p. 417), the Oswold of Nottingham (but see now *SCBI* Copenhagen 1106) so relevant to the question of the date of the *Agnus Dei* type, and the Byrns(t)an of Winchester known until now only from an unpublished coin in still another of the Swedish hoards (SHM Inv. 17747). To be noted are the number of *Helmet* coins in this find which are from dies unrecorded in *Anglosachsiska mynt*, and it should soon begin to dawn on the most obstinate student of the series that our picture of the *Helmet* issue is nothing like so complete as is the case with the types that immediately preceded and succeeded it. There are purely numismatic reasons for this relative ignorance—it is only natural, for instance, that hoarders will eschew a type notoriously light by the standards of the age—but the numismatist without historical formation too readily overlooks the not unimportant consideration that during the years when the *Helmet* type was current in England Viking attacks on Great Britain were generally on a very much reduced scale. Indeed, there were years when no Viking fleet was in English waters. Against such a background the relative paucity of *Helmet* coins is so readily explicable that many of us find it difficult to understand how what was so clearly a substantive issue could have been reduced to the status of a variety. Incidentally, it may be observed that *Helmet* does indeed appear to present the same metrological pattern as *Second Hand*, another issue of unusually light weight. In the last number of this *Journal* Mr. C. S. S. Lyon would appear to have demonstrated quite convincingly that the span of *Helmet* was approximately six years, and the alleged identity of pattern between this type and *Second Hand* becomes in consequence an additional argument that the latter too is a substantive type.

Last Small Cross Type

<i>Bridport</i> ,	Godric	=	BEH 111
<i>Cadbury</i> ,	Wulfelm	=	BEH 122
<i>Cambridge</i> ,	Leofsige		BEH 1188 var. (a. 5 and MO GRANT)
"	Wulfzig	rev. =	BEH 1203
<i>Canterbury</i> ,	Godwine		BEH 174 var. (CANTV)
"	Wulfstan		BEH 246 var. (a. 3, ir. 55 and + WULFSTA M'ON CAENT)
<i>Chester</i> ,	Ælfnoth		BEH 1482 var. (LEI)
"	Gunleof	=	BEH 1526
"	Leofnoth (2)	both cf.	BEH 1536
<i>Colchester</i> ,	Edwine	cf.	BEH 291
"	Elfwine		BEH — [Pl. IX, 42]
"	Godric	cf.	BEH 294
<i>Dover</i> ,	Manninc	rev. =	BEH 425
<i>Exeter</i> ,	Ælfnoth	rev. =	BEH 446 (obv. var. ir. 110)
"	Byrhtstan (2)	one =	BEH 481: one a large fragment
"	Is(c)god (2)	one =	BEH 551: one, rev. = BEH 554
"	Sæwine	obv. =	BEH 581
<i>Gloucester</i> ,	Siræd	=	BEH 1127
<i>Hastings</i> ,	Ælfwerd	=	BEH 1224
<i>Hereford</i> ,	Æthelwig	cf.	BEH 1330
<i>Ipswich</i> ,	Leofsige (2)	both =	BEH 1059
<i>Leicester</i> ,	Æthelwig	rev. =	BEH 1583, obv. BEH 1583 var. (a. 10)
<i>Lewes</i> ,	Ælfwerd	cf.	BEH 1408
<i>Lincoln</i> ,	Bruntat (2)	one cf.	BEH 1695: one a large fragment
"	Cytlern		BEH 1727 var. (EDIRAED and LNIC) [Pl. IX, 43]
"	Osfram		BEH 1821 var. (a. 3 and LINC)
"	Othbarn (2)	one cf.	BEH 1853: one BEH 1850 var. (M-O LIN)
"	Raienold	=	BEH 1878
"	Sumerleth	=	BEH 1908
"	Ulfeotel (2)	one =	BEH 1950: one BEH 1954 var. (M-O LINC)
<i>London</i> ,	Æadwerd (2)	one =	BEH 2467: one BEH 2467 var. (k. 8 and ÆADPERD MON LUNDENE)
"	Ælfnoth (2)	one =	BEH 2060: one, rev. = BEH 2056 var. (a, ir. 55, 97)
"	Æthelwine	cf.	BEH 2185
"	Brihtmær	cf.	BEH 2241
"	Elfric	cf.	BEH 2075
"	Godric (2)	one	BEH 2570 var. (g 5, ir. 152, 63): one BEH 2570 var. (a. 4, MO VNDNI)
"	Godwine (3)	one =	BEH 2602: one = BEH 2607: one BEH 2611 var. (ON LVND)
"	Leofwine	=	BEH 2731
"	Liofwi	=	BEH 2800
"	Liofwold (2)	one =	BEH 2807: one = BEH 2808
"	Lyfinc		BEH 2821 var. (a. 4, LVND)
"	Oda	=	BEH 2843
"	Wulfred (2)	one =	BEH 2980: one BEH 2967 var. (o. 4, MON LVND)
"	Wulfwine		BEH 3002 var. (a. ir. 105, M'ONLVID)
<i>Lydford</i> ,	Byrhtwine		BEH — [Fig. 1]
"	Godric (2)	=	BEH 3059
<i>Malden</i> ,	Ædelwine	obv. =	BEH 3073 (rev. ÆDELWINE MON MÆLD)
<i>Northampton</i> ,	Wulfnoth	=	BEH 1278
<i>Norwich</i> ,	Wu(l)fm(æ)r	obv. =	BEH 3201 (pVfMR)
<i>Rochester</i> ,	Eadnoth	=	BEH 3273

Last Small Cross Type (cont.)

FIG. 1

<i>Rochester,</i>	Godwine	=	BEH 3287
<i>Salisbury,</i>	Sæmann	=	BEH 3403
<i>Shrewsbury,</i>	Wulmæ	=	BEH 3383
<i>Stamford,</i>	Æscman	=	BEH 3431
„	Æswig		BEH 3439 var. (n. 5, ir. 55) [Pl. IX, 44]
„	Brunstan (2)		BEH — [Pl. IX, 45]
„	E(a)dwine (2)	one =	BEH 3462: one BEH 3468 var. (MON STANI)
„	Godæg		BEH 3478 var. (l. 4, m o)
„	Godeleof		BEH 3495 var. (e. 5)
<i>Thetford,</i>	Edwine (4)	one cf.	two cf. BEH 3734: one BEH 3735 var. (DEODF): one BEH 3730 var. (g. 4, DEO)
„	Fastulf		BEH 3740 var. (a. 4, +FASTULF ONDEODF)
„	Leofthegen		BEH 3755 var. (Type A, a. 5, ir. 63 annulet before face)
„	Manna	obv. =	BEH 3774
„	Walgist	=	BEH 3822
<i>Torksey,</i>	Thorcetel	=	BEH 3830
<i>Totnes,</i>	Huneman	=	BEH 3851
<i>Wallingford,</i>	Edwig		BEH 3918 var. (BELINGA)
<i>Warminster,</i>	Godwine	obv. =	BEH 4346 (GODWINE ON PORIM)
<i>Warwick,</i>	Huse	=	BEH 3871
<i>Winchester,</i>	Ælfs(i)ge (3)	two, rev. =	BEH 4036: one, rev. = BEH 4040
„	Alfold	=	BEH 4087
„	Brunstan	cf.	BEH 4128
„	Cynna	cf.	BEH 4196
„	Leofwine	=	BEH 4259
„	Siboda	cf.	BEH 4307
<i>York,</i>	Cetel		BEH 661 var. (l. 7 + MΛOEOFER)
„	Elfstan (2)	one =	BEH 704: one cf. BEH 701
„	Hildolf	cf.	BEH 725/6
„	Leofwin		BEH 764 var. (o. III, LE OFIN)
„	Outhgrim	obv. =	BEH 844
„	Sumrletha	=	BEH 895
„	Thorstan	=	BEH 927
„	Wulfsige	rev. =	BEH 990

Of considerable interest are the coins illustrated which include those of two moneyers not recorded by Hildebrand for the moneyer and type, Byrhtwine at Lydford—the style as well as the mint-signature cannot be faulted—and the well-known Brunstan at Stamford.

Pride of place, though, must surely be given to the die-link actually observed within the hoard [Pl. IX, 43 and 44] between unpublished varieties of the pence of the Lincoln moneyer Cytlern and his Stamford colleague Æswig. The close geographical relationship of the two mints in question must surely favour the view that both coins were struck in England, and this despite their low weight and somewhat anomalous style, so that the historian may well begin to wonder whether there could not be some connection with the sudden reversals of fortune which characterized events in Lindsey during the last few years of the reign of Æthelræd II, the period when these coins may be supposed to have been struck.

Last Small Cross Type—Variety with Right-facing Bust.

Dover, Godman = BEH 410

CNUT

Quatrefoil Type.

Bristol,	Æ(ge)lwine	= BEH 82
„	Ælfwine	rev. = BEH 77 (<i>obv.</i> Type E and a. 6)
Bruton,	Ælfwine	BEH 110 var. (a. 6)
Cambridge,	Stengrim	BEH — [Pl. IX, 46]
Chester,	Gunleof	BEH 1351 var. (a. 8)
Cissbury,	Leofwine	= BEH 3194
Colchester,	Wulfwine	rev. = BEH 234
Dover,	Eadwine	= BEH 303
„	Liofwine	BEH 335 var. (a. 5, LIOFWINE and DOF)
Exeter,	Hunewine	obv. = BEH 396: rev. BEH 396 var. (O EX)
Hertford,	Lyfinc (2)	one = BEH 3059: one BEH 3059 var. (a, ir. 102, + LYFNC M'O RET)
Huntingdon,	Eadnoth	cf. BEH 1237
Ipswich,	Ælbrht	= BEH 925
Lewes,	Ælfwerd	obv. = BEH 1256: rev. (+ ÆLF ðER DMO LAEEI)
„	Ealdræd	BEH 1265 var. (+ EALD RÆD ONLE þENN)
„	Godeman	BEH 1278 var. (a. 8, MLÆ)
Lincoln,	Æthelmær	BEH 1487 var. (M'O)
„	Aslac	cf. BEH 1504
„	Leofwine	BEH 1614 var. (M'O)
„	(Mat)ethan	Cut halfpenny
„	Osgut	= BEH 1692
„	Sumerlth	cf. BEH 1733
London,	Ælfwi	= BEH 1925
„	Brihtfrth (3)	two = BEH 2028: one, rev. = BEH 2027
„	Eadmund	= BEH 2133
„	Eadwi	BEH 2170 var. (LVNDEN)
„	Eadwine (2)	one = BEH 2186: one, obv. = BEH 2182
„	Eadwold	cf. BEH 2198
„	'Eærn'	= BEH 2210
„	Godric	= BEH 2434
„	Leofwold	BEH 2434 var. (a. 5)
„	Liofrie	BEH 2637 var. (a. 7, ir. 62)
„	Osulf	= BEH 2682
„	Wulfgar	obv. = BEH 2757
„	Wulfwine	BEH 2785 var. (LVN)
„	Wynsi	obv. = BEH 2813: rev. BEH 2813 var. (LVNDEN)
Northampton,	Leofwine	= BEH 1136
Norwich,	Godwine	= BEH 2924

Quatrefoil Type (cont.)

Norwich,	Hatman	=	BEH 2928
Oxford,	Sæwine	=	BEH 3045
„	Sibwine	=	BEH 3048
Shaftesbury,	Sæwine		BEH 3115 var. (a. 7, SCEFT)
Shrewsbury,	Ælfelm	rev. =	BEH 3117: <i>obv.</i> BEH 3117 var. (a. 6)
Southampton,	Ælfsige		BEH 1116 var. (a. 7)
Stamford,	Thurstan	=	BEH 3347
Sudbury,	Mansii	=	BEH 3372
Thetford,	Leofric (2)	one =	BEH 3505: one = BEH 3507
„	Lifinc		BEH —, cut halfpenny [Pl. IX, 47]
Winchester,	Ælfstan	=	BEH 3680
„	Leo(f)wine (3)	one =	BEH 3788: one BEH 3787 var. (a. 8): one BEH 3795 var. (a. 8, LEOPINE)
„	Wulfnoth	=	BEH 3849
York,	Cetel	<i>obv.</i> =	BEH 505: <i>rev.</i> var. (o)
„	Colgrim	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 518
„	Elfstan	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 558
„	Hildolf		BEH 644 var. (MO)
„	Osgot	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 699
„	Snecol	=	BEH 744
„	Sunolf	<i>obv.</i> =	BEH 774: <i>rev.</i> BEH 774 var. (EOF)
„	Swertinc	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 797

The more interesting coins are those selected for illustration, the Cambridge penny of Stengrim, and the cut halfpenny of the Thetford moneyer Lifinc. At least as far as Swedish collections are concerned, they furnish us with a new moneyer for type at their respective mints, though in each case the moneyer is one well-attested in the immediately succeeding issue.

Quatrefoil Type Variety with Diademed Bust.

Hereford,	Leofgar	=	BEH 1202
Malmesbury,	Bricstan		BEH — [Pl. IX, 48]

It is believed that this is the first time this important 'Severn Basin' variant has been recorded at the mint of Malmesbury. The coin, incidentally, is from the same reverse die as BEH 2889, a coin of normal *Quatrefoil* type.

Pointed Helmet Type.

Bath,	Æthelric		BEH — [Pl. IX, 49]
Lincoln,	Aslac		BEH 1506/7/8 var. (LINCOL) - a large fragment
„	Sumerlida		BEH 1729 var. (a 4, ir. 33)
London,	Ælfwig	<i>cf.</i>	BEH 1944
„	Wulfred		BEH 2766 var. (b - not b. 1)
„	Wynstan		BEH 2856 var. (LVNNDE)
Northampton,	Leofnoth	=	BEH 1131
Southwark,	Ælric	=	BEH 3392
York,	Hildolf (2)	one =	BEH 654: one <i>cf.</i> BEH 651
„	Wulfnoth	=	BEH 848

The coin of Bath certainly merits illustration. Not only does the moneyer appear to be unpublished for the mint and type, but the unusually full mint-signature BAÐVM has preserved quite admirably—and also quite exceptionally—the OE oblique case-ending.

Short Cross Type.

<i>Lincoln,</i>	Ælfnoth	cf.	BEH 1479
<i>London,</i>	Brunman	=	BEH 2115
<i>York,</i>	Godman	=	BEH 612

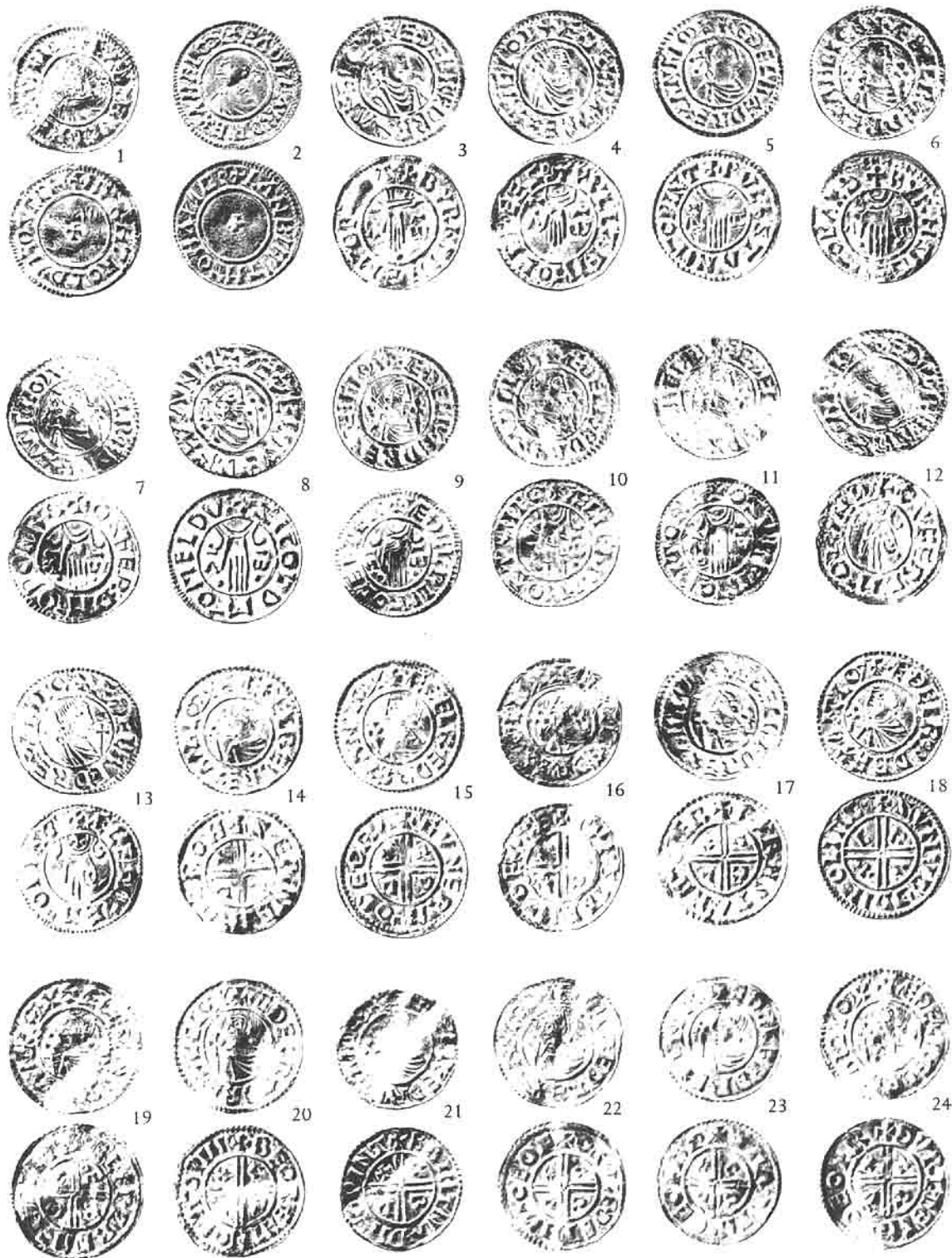
HAROLD I

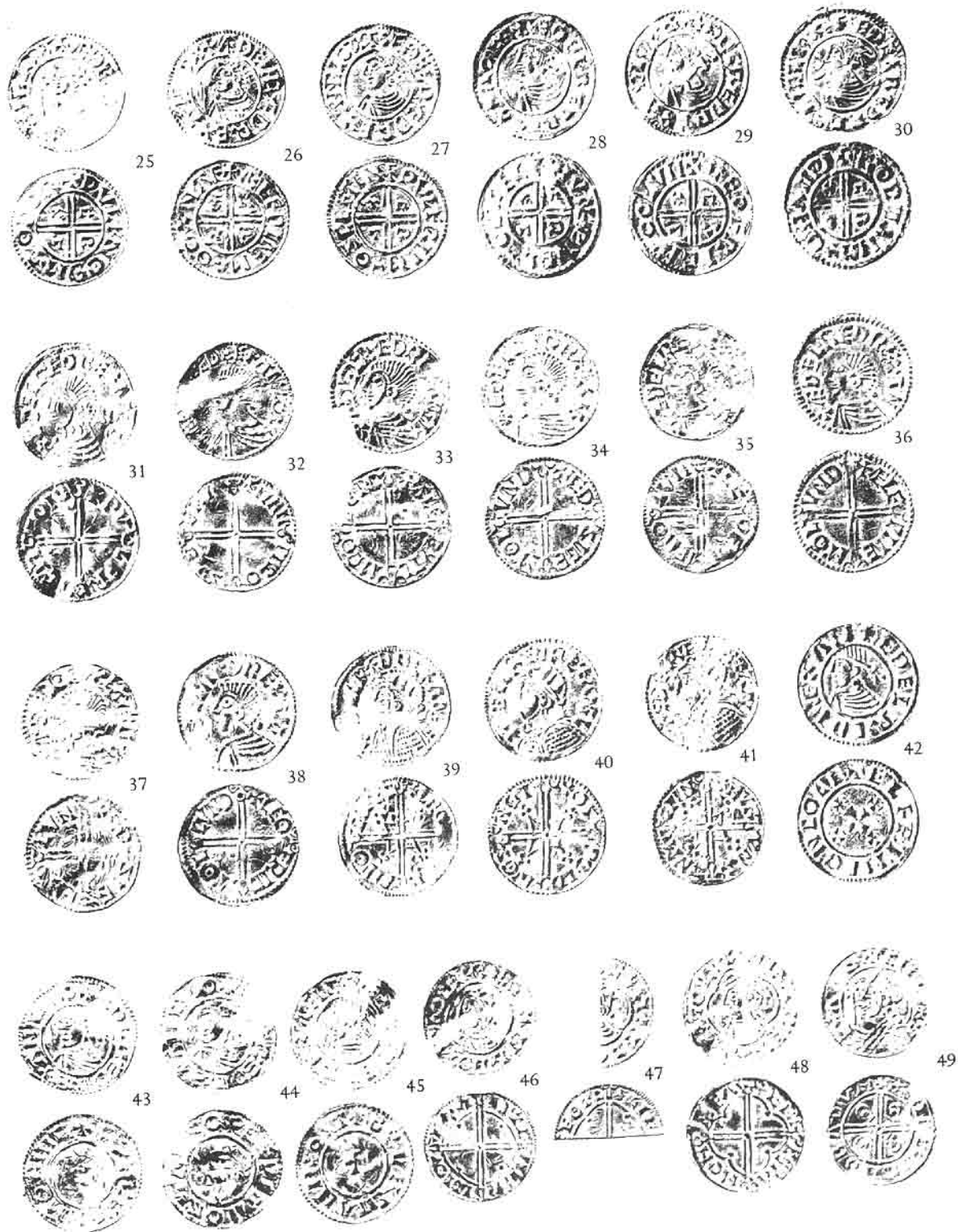
Jewel Cross Type.

<i>Uncertain mint,</i>	?	3 fragments
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So far it has not proved possible to associate the individual letters visible on the almost completely disintegrated coin with the legend of any coin of the type in the Stockholm cabinet.

This concludes our preliminary survey of the English element in the 1966 Viking-age coin-hoard from Karls in Tingstäde parish on Gotland. It cannot pretend to be a definitive hoard-report, something that must be deferred for another occasion, but we do feel that it has something to offer for students of the series in question, if only the illustration of a number of coins which are rare and in most cases unpublished. It may well be several years before a full account of the hoard can appear, but at least those who are engaged in detailed study of the English coinage of this period have been given an opportunity of knowing whether or not the hoard includes material relevant to particular problems, a matter of some moment in view of the decision that this hoard should not be taken up into the Royal Coin Cabinet, but put on display in a showcase in Gotlands Fornsal, the museum at Visby on the relatively inaccessible island where the discovery was made. To list the English element with approximate references to *Anglosachsiska mynt* occupied the Irish contributor an entire week; checking this work and transferring the information to cards occupied the Dutch contributor more than three times as long; and the final checking of the coins against the Systematic Collection was for the Swedish collaborator a labour of several weeks. It would indeed be churlish of us not to conclude with a word of thanks to the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet and of the Humanistic Fund. Not only did they make available to foreign students this unpublished treasure within months of its discovery—and it would have been days if only we had been free to come—but we were positively encouraged to prepare a preliminary listing of the hoard and to publish it here. Is this not perhaps a precedent which could with advantage be followed in those countries where publication of treasure trove appears to have fallen hopelessly into arrears? In Holland fortunately there has been no such deterioration in the situation—albeit in sale-catalogue form, a preliminary listing of the great Serooskerke treasure was available to international scholarship within eleven months of the hoard's discovery—but in Dublin, where the special circumstances of a still irredentist nation means that there persists a certain backlog of publication, the academic world is fortunate enough to find among officials the same generous and scholarly attitude to the visitor that exists in Sweden—though admittedly the state's impoverishment means that Ireland as yet cannot hope to compete with Swedish munificence so splendidly exemplified in the princely grants which alone make possible the exploitation of the vast, historical riches of the great Gotland coin-hoards.





THE ANGLO-SAXON ELEMENT IN THE 1967 BURGE HOARD FROM LUMMELUNDA PARISH, GOTLAND

By MICHAEL DOLLEY *with* C. E. BLUNT *and* MISS G. VAN DER MEER

ON 19 August 1967 a farmer was working in one of his fields at a spot called Burge in the Gotland parish of Lummelunda when the share of his plough threw up a number of silver objects. They were carefully collected and the Museum at Visby promptly notified, with the result that during the next few days there were recovered some twenty-five pounds avoirdupois weight of silver ornaments, silver ingots and silver coins. Noticeably absent, it would seem, was *Hacksilber* as such, and this may be thought yet another indication of the late date of concealment of the treasure. It is indeed not only the largest but also the latest Viking-Age silver hoard to be found upon the island of Gotland, and it could even be argued that it should be considered an early mediaeval hoard rather than one from the Swedish Viking Age proper. It had been contained apparently in a copper or bronze vessel, this last now largely disintegrated, and there is reason to think that the coins lay at the bottom beneath the ingots with the ornaments on top. There is some reason to think, too, that the find-spot lay beneath or adjacent to a mediaeval structure, and again the circumstance is one atypical where Viking-Age hoards are concerned. The provisional count of the whole coins alone gives a figure in the region of 2,750, and as well there are several hundred fragments, a number of which will doubtless be pieced together.

The whole hoard was brought to the Museum at Visby (Gotlands Fornsal), and we wish now to put on record an act of quite extraordinary generosity on the part of our Swedish colleagues. It was known that the authors of this note would be arriving in Stockholm on the evening of 3 September. On the morning of 4 September we came into the Royal Coin Cabinet at the Statens Historiska Museum to find that there had arrived from Gotland a large registered parcel containing the coins from the Lummelunda hoard. The seals were still unbroken, and we were invited to open it and to take out and sort and count the contents. This was only two-and-a-half weeks after the initial discovery, and it must be remembered that from the local press-reports alone our Swedish friends well knew that this must be very possibly the most significant coin-hoard of their careers. It was, then, with the liveliest sentiments of gratitude and of recognition of the trust reposed in us that we broke the seals, opened the box and took out packet after packet of coins. Assisted now by some of our Swedish colleagues, and in particular by Fil. lic. fru Ulla S. Linder Welin, and under the general supervision of the prime author of our good fortune Fil. dr. förste antikvarie N. L. Rasmusson, we roughly sorted the coins, many still with the soil of Gotland adhering to them, and began the preliminary count. Of English coins there were 126, 115 whole coins, 6 cut halfpence and 5 fragments. The Hiberno-Norse coins numbered only 3, but these included a penny from the last decade of the eleventh century which must be one of the latest Hiberno-Norse coins ever to be found outside Ireland.¹ Of Danish coins there were fewer than a score, and at least at a first inspection no Swedish or Norwegian pieces were distinguished. It should be borne in mind that the time at our disposal was strictly limited—effectively no more

¹ It is hoped to publish very soon a note on the Irish coins in *JRSAL*.

than 3½ days—and that our prime task had to be the separation from the mass of the hoard of its English and Irish elements. We can report, though, that there were fewer than a score of Kufic coins, some fragmentary, and that only one Byzantine coin was observed. The weight of the hoard in fact comprised the German coins, and it is obvious that the publication of these will be no light labour of love for our German colleagues. Among perhaps 2,250 pence there appeared to be a curious predominance of one Goslar type with the heads of SS. Peter and Paul on the obverse, and the facade of a church on the reverse. The sensation of the hoard, however, was its inclusion of close on 300 German bracteates of the second half of the twelfth century along with numerous fragments thereof. Such bracteates are not normally found in Sweden, and this is thought to be the first time that they have been found in any quantity on Gotland, let alone in combination with Viking-Age coins as such.

The purpose of this present note, however, is simply to give a preliminary account of the circumstances of the discovery, and to list briefly the Anglo-Saxon coins, which total 87, in order to render fully intelligible to the English numismatist publication in another place of the 39 Anglo-Norman coins, 32 pennies, 6 cut halfpence and 1 fragment. Four days before the initial discovery of the hoard, one of the authors of the present report had put the finishing touches to a *Sylloge* fascicle devoted to the 250 Anglo-Norman pence in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm. Granted that this fascicle is to appear in 1968 as a joint publication of the British Academy and of its Swedish counterpart, it was still a magnificently disinterested gesture of the Swedish authorities to suggest that the 39 additional pieces should appear in that fascicle as a supplement. Here it is only necessary to observe that they run down as far as *BMC* Type XIII of Henry I, later than any other hoard known to us from Sweden, and that they are divided between the three reigns as follows:—

WILLIAM I	3
WILLIAM II	13
HENRY I	23

What is even more astonishing is that no fewer than 15 of the coins of Henry I are of *BMC* Type VII, a type not previously known from a Swedish hoard, and one of which no more than 13 specimens, 3 of them last-minute acquisitions, were in the British Museum when Brooke published the *British Museum Catalogue* of the series.

The following, then, is a highly abbreviated preliminary listing of just the Anglo-Saxon portion of the 1967 Burge find from the Gotland parish of Lummelunda. To be stressed is the fact that the provisional references to B. E. Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska mynt* (1881 edn.) do *not* denote die-identity, although in many cases this doubtless exists. All that is intended to be conveyed is the general reading of the legends, and it may even be that another coin recorded by the great Swedish numismatist will be found to be from the same dies. Again we would remind our readers that the time at our disposal was very strictly limited, and had to embrace not just the listing of the English coins but the sorting of the entire hoard of well over three thousand coins and fragments. It did seem to us, however, that a report published within a year or so of a discovery of this kind, however elementary and incomplete the listing, has a certain value, whereas if there is no publication it is only too easy for major hoards to lie unpublished for year after year with each fresh discovery furnishing a new excuse for non-publication of its predecessors. Those who know from long experience the kindness and scholarship of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm will appreciate that this

interpretation of academic responsibility is one with which they entirely concur—*cf.* Fil. dr. fru Brita Malmer's commendably prompt initial publication in *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* for February 1967 of the Swedish element in the substantial Viking-Age hoard found at Karls in the Gotland parish of Tingstäde on 6 October 1966—but we would like again to put on record our appreciation of the unprecedented generosity of the Swedish authorities, and of Dr. Rasmusson in particular.

The list runs as follows:—

ÆTHELRÆD II

FIRST HAND ISSUE

Huntingdon, Ælfric, *cf.* BEH 1357.

SECOND HAND ISSUE

Bridport, Eadnoth, *cf.* BEH 106: *London*, Eadmund, *cf.* BEH 2332.

CRUX ISSUE

Ilchester, God, *cf.* BEH 1024: *Southwark*, Byrhtaf, *cf.* BEH 3588: *Thetford*, Spyrline, *cf.* BEH 3812: *Wareham*, Ælfgar, *cf.* BEH 3944.

SMALL CRUX VARIETY

Canterbury, Eadwold, *cf.* BEH 148.

INTERMEDIATE SMALL CROSS/CRUX MULE

London, Leofric, BEH —

LONG CROSS ISSUE

Cambridge, Ælfric, *cf.* BEH 1142: *Canterbury*, Leofric, *cf.* BEH 207; Leofstan BEH 226 var.: *Huntingdon*, Ælfric, *cf.* BEH 1371: *Lincoln*, Æscman, *cf.* BEH 1639; Æthelnoth, (3) *cf.* BEH 1665 & 1668; Colgrim, *cf.* BEH 1713/4; Osmund, *cf.* BEH 1844: *London*, Æthelwerd, *cf.* BEH 2169/70; Eadwold, *cf.* BEH 2428; Leofstan, *cf.* BEH 2421/2: *Lydford*, Goda, *cf.* BEH 3055: *Norwich*, Ælfric, BEH 3098/9 var.: *Southwark*, Eadwine, *cf.* BEH 3654: *Stamford*, Godeleof, *cf.* BEH 3500: *Warwick*, Æthestan, *cf.* BEH 3868.

HELMET ISSUE

Exeter, God, BEH 533 var.: *Lincoln*, Osmund, *cf.* BEH 1849: *London*, Wulfstan, *cf.* BEH 2998: *Winchester*, Ælfwod, *cf.* BEH 4102: *York*, Colgrim, *cf.* BEH 673.

LAST SMALL CROSS ISSUE

Gloucester, Leofsige, *cf.* BEH 1116: *Lincoln*, Osferth, *cf.* BEH 1812: *Stamford*, Godeleof, BEH 3493 var.: *Thetford*, Leofthegen, BEH 3754 var.: *Winchester*, Brihtnoth, *cf.* BEH 4124: *York*, Ulfcetel, BEH 962 var.

CNUT

QUATREFOIL ISSUE

Ilchester, Ælfwine (2), BEH 882 var. & *cf.* BEH 886; Oswie, *cf.* BEH 913: *London*, Ælfwi, BEH 1932 var.; Brihnoth, *cf.* BEH 2023; Eadwerd *cf.* BEH 2159; Osulf, *cf.* BEH 2684/5: *York*, Colgrim, *cf.* BEH 517; Stircol, *cf.* BEH 753.

POINTED HELMET ISSUE

Chester, Leofnoth, *cf.* BEH 1370: *Hereford*, Leofgar, *cf.* BEH 1204: *Leicester*, Ægelwig, *cf.* BEH 1440: *Lincoln*, Ægelmær, *cf.* BEH 1463; Godwine, BEH 1561 var.: *London*, Æd . . . or Ed . . . (fragment); Edwig, BEH 2295 var.; Edwine, BEH 2304 var.; Godere (2), *cf.* BEH 2388/9 & 2391–3; Leofstan, *cf.* BEH 2552; Wynstan, BEH 2852/3 var.: *Norwich*, Hwataman, *cf.* BEH 2932: *Shaftesbury*, Ægelric, *cf.* BEH 3089: *Stamford*, Æthestan, *cf.* BEH 3230: *Winchester*, Edwerd, *cf.* BEH 3737: *York*, (O)ustman, *cf.* BEH 719 (chipped): *uncertain mint*, Godma. (fragment).

SHORT CROSS ISSUE

Guildford, Blacaman, BEH 1081 var.: *Lincoln*, Colgrim, *cf.* BEH 1535: *London*, Leofstan, *cf.* BEH 2562: *Norwich*, Ægelferth, *cf.* BEH 2902: *York*, Thurgim, *cf.* BEH 805/6.

HARTHACNUT

JEWEL CROSS ISSUE (r. facing bust)

Oxford, Ælwine, BEH —.

HAROLD I

JEWEL CROSS ISSUE

Wareham, Blacaman, BEH —: Winchester, Ladmær, cf. BEH 1022.

FLEUR-DE-LYS ISSUE

London, Goltsig, BEH 646 var.

HARTHACNUT (REST.)

ARM-AND-SCEPTRE ISSUE (in the name of Cnut)

London, Brungar, cf. BEH Cnut 2096.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

PAX ISSUE

Colchester, Brunhyse, cf. BEH 61: Lincoln, Lefwine, BEH 351 var.

RADIATE SMALL CROSS ISSUE

York, Æthelwine, BEH 104 var.; Othiin, BEH 138 var.

TREFOIL QUADRILATERAL ISSUE

Leicester, (Wu)lnoth, BEH — (fragment).

RADIATE SMALL CROSS/TREFOIL QUADRILATERAL MULE

Winchester, Leofwine, BEH —.

SMALL FLAN ISSUE

London, Leofnoei, BEH —.

EXPANDING CROSS ISSUE (early)

Stamford, Wulfwine, BEH 705 var.: Winchester, Lifwine, BEH —.

EXPANDING CROSS ISSUE (late)

Hastings, Brid, BEH —.

HAMMER CROSS ISSUE

York, Othgrim, BEH —.

FACING SMALL CROSS ISSUE

Wilton, Leofwine, BEH —.

To be noted is the proportion of later coins of Edward the Confessor which is entirely consistent with the presence of Anglo-Norman pence in substantial quantity, though once again there should be remarked the absence of all coins of Harold II. Of the individual coins the most noteworthy are the two mules, one of Æthelræd II and the other of Edward the Confessor. The former was not entirely unknown, as it happens there is a second specimen, from another reverse die, in the 1966 Karls hoard from Tingstäde parish on Gotland to which reference has already been made, while a third example, at the time of writing not available for comparison, is in the cabinet of Mr. F. Elmore Jones. The Edward the Confessor mule is one that merits illustration here:—



When Mr. Peter Seaby contributed his definitive paper on the sequence of the early coin-types of Edward the Confessor to the 1955 *British Numismatic Journal*, he was able to cite no more than four mules to link the two issues, the mints being 'Hamton' (now identified with some confidence as Northampton), Worcester and York (2). The new coin from Gotland is not just a particularly fine specimen, but it is satisfying as well as remarkable that the mint should be Winchester, a major mint under the immediate scrutiny of the officials of the royal treasury. Increasingly it is clear that muling in certain circumstances at least could be perfectly legal, and it is interesting that no true coin of Leofwine at Winchester was known to Mr. Seaby in the *Trefoil Quadrilateral* type as such, though thereafter he is a well-attested moneyer at the mint. Concerning the other coins unrecorded in Hildebrand, it may only be observed that they present no surprises, and that with comparatively little trouble they could be matched with coins in other public collections, or in some cases with unpublished coins in the Royal Swedish Coin cabinet itself.

In conclusion, a word may not be out of place concerning the probable date of concealment of the hoard which has the provisional *inventarium* number G(otlands) F(ornsal) 5112/67 although its more likely eventual destination is the Statens Historiska Museum at Stockholm where the Royal Coin Cabinet is at present housed. As we have seen, the latest English coins are of Henry I Type XIII, and so were probably struck in the early 1130s. On the evidence of the German coins, though, already it would seem that the hoard itself was buried perhaps as much as half a century later, in other words that the oldest English coin was already close on two hundred years old when the treasure was abandoned.

A REMARKABLE PARCEL OF NORMAN PENNIES IN MOSCOW

By F. ELMORE JONES and C. E. BLUNT

THROUGH the great courtesy of Dr. K. V. Golenko and Mrs. Kosareva of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow we are enabled to publish the details of a very remarkable parcel of 40 English coins of the Norman period which that Museum has recently acquired. We should like to express our great appreciation of the co-operation shown by the Museum of Fine Arts which not only readily gave permission for this important parcel to be published in this *Journal*, but also supplied casts of all 40 coins together with details of their weights and die axes. In the same parcel, though not necessarily associated with the same find, were nine coins, imitative of XIth century English coin types, probably of Scandinavian origin.

The composition of the parcel of Norman coins is as under:—

WILLIAM II	BMC Type 1	2	
	„ 2	1	
	„ 4	1	
	„ 5	1	5
		—	
HENRY I	Type 7	3	
	„ 15	1	4
		—	
STEPHEN	Type 1	12	
	Mule Types 6/7	1	
	Type 7	18	31
		—	
			40
			—

No less than 21 mints are represented by the 30 coins which in this respect are capable of positive identification namely Bath(1), “Bran” (1), Bury St. Edmunds (2), Canterbury (2), Carlisle (1), Chichester (1), Dover (2), Exeter (1), Hastings (1), Hereford (1), Huntingdon (1), Lincoln(1), London(6), Northampton(1), Norwich(2), Pevensey (1), Shaftesbury (1), Stamford (1), Sudbury (1), Tamworth (1), and York (1). It is indeed remarkable that such a comparatively small parcel should reveal as many unpublished coins and great rarities as are comprised here. Especially noteworthy are the penny of William II of an unpublished type for the Shaftesbury mint (No. 4 in the Catalogue), the three pennies of Henry I of the very rare Type 7 (Nos. 6, 7 and 8), the remarkable penny of Stephen which constitutes a new variant of Type 1 (No. 21), the even more remarkable penny of Stephen which mules the two very rare Types 6/7 (No. 22) and certainly two of the 18 coins of the very rare Stephen Type 7 (Nos. 23 and 24). The first of these latter gives us a new mint for the reign and the second a new moneyer (Rodbert) for the mint of “BRAN”, an excessively rare mint which is unknown to have existed in any other reign or in any other of Stephen’s types. Yet another coin of this type (No. 38) certainly reveals part of the name of an unpublished moneyer and probably an unpublished mint for the type but unfortunately positive identification is impossible. The run of rare mints contained in the 18 coins of this type in the parcel is indeed

remarkable. This must surely be the most important parcel of the coins of this type to have come to light since the Awbridge Find in 1903. The content of that find (so far as recorded) was 31 coins of Stephen Type 7 together with 104 coins of Henry II's first issue and, with the exception of one single coin in another hoard, it is the only recorded English find in which this type of Stephen has been represented. The coins span the period of c. 1087-1158 and are believed to constitute the whole of a small hoard from one of the Baltic States but no information as to the actual location is available. The assumption is therefore that the coins must have been deposited in the last years of Stephen's reign, i.e. in 1153 or 1154 or else early in the reign of his successor, Henry II, since Stephen's last type (Type 7) is known to have run on until 1158. The range of the mints of the 18 coins of the type in this parcel extending as it does from Bath and Hereford in the West to Dover and Norwich in the East is most significant. Their wide range affords striking evidence of the return to settled conditions throughout England consequent upon the signing of the Treaty of Winchester in 1153 on the cessation of hostilities between the King and the Angevin party. In the Catalogue which follows these introductory remarks the coins are listed under types and mints in alphabetical order, the weights are given in grains and the die axis is noted in the conventional manner. All the coins are illustrated on plates III and IV.

<i>Plate number (Pl. III)</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Die Axis</i>	
			WILLIAM II. (5 Coins). <i>BMC Type 1</i>
1	21.4	↘	Canterbury. Moneyer:—WINEDI Obv. + PILLELMR(lig) EX (Double struck). Rev. + PINEDI ON ENTLEI From the same obv. die as BMC 6 of this moneyer but from a different rev. die.
2	21.3	↙	Northampton. Moneyer:—SEWINE Obv. + PILLELMR(lig) EX I Rev. + SEPI ON HAMTVN A die duplicate of BMC 43 (sub Southampton).
			<i>BMC Type 2.</i>
3	21.4	↑	Lincoln. Moneyer:—ULF Obv. + PILLELMR(lig) EX Rev. + VLF OH LINCII This moneyer is known in this type from only two other specimens neither of which is in the B.M. Both are from different dies to this coin.
			<i>BMC Type 4</i>
4	18.6	←	Shaftesbury. Moneyer:—WULFGARD Obv. + PILLELMR(lig) I Rev. + PVLFGERD ON SC An unpublished type for this rare mint. Hitherto this moneyer has only been recorded in Types 2 and 3, in each case from a single specimen.
			<i>BMC Type 5</i>
5	21.3	↙	London. Moneyer:—BRUNIC Obv. + PI - LE - - - - X Rev. + BRVNIC ON LVND A very rare type. This coin is from different dies to the single specimen of this moneyer in the B.M. (a post-Catalogue coin ex Sotheby 18.8.23 lot 75).

<i>Plate number (Pl. III)</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Die Axis</i>
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HENRY I (4 Coins)

BMC Type 7

6	21.0	↓
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Exeter. Moneyer:—HE(?) — — — NG (? Herding).

Obv. + HENRIRE

Rev. + — — — — — NG ON EXCE.

An excessively rare mint in this type and possibly only the second known specimen. From different dies to BMC 39A of the moneyer Sewine. The moneyer is probably the HE — — — ING of the Type 14 coin in the collection of Mr. R. P. V. Brettell (ex Drabble lot 664) and until recently only recorded from that one specimen *c.f.* also coin of Type 15 in the same collection reading + HE — — — — — ; ON : EXCES.

7	21.4	↙
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London.

Obv. + HE — — — RE.

Rev. + — — — — — INE ON LVN

An unpublished moneyer (probably either Alfwine or Wulfwine) in this very rare type.

8	21.3	↑
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Norwich. Moneyer:—WICHEMAN

Obv. [+ HEN]RI REX

Rev. + [PICH]E[M]AN : [ON : NO]R

This is a die duplicate of a coin in the collection of Mr. N. C. Ballingal reading + PICHEMAN : ON : NOR and hitherto considered to be unique. An excessively rare type for the mint (in all probability this is only the second known specimen) and one not represented in the British Museum.

BMC Type 15

9	22.1	↘
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York. Moneyer:—ARNWI

Obv. + HENRICVS

Rev. + ARNPI : ON : E[V]ER—

An unpublished moneyer for this mint in any reign. A moneyer of the same name is however known of Lincoln at just this period. This coin is a die duplicate of one in Mr. Elmore Jones' collection on which the York mint signature (but not the name of the moneyer) is perfectly clear.

STEPHEN (31 Coins)

BMC Type 1

(N.B. As is quite usual in this type these coins are very badly struck and their condition is such that of the 12 of the type only 5 are identifiable with certainty.)

10	21.6	↗
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Bury St. Edmunds. Moneyer:—GILEBERT

Obv. + SIEF — — — E:

Rev. + GILEBERT : [ON : ED :]

A die duplicate of BMC 6

11	19.7	↗
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Bury St. Edmunds. Moneyer:—GILEBERT

Obv. + S — — — FNE —

Rev. + — — — EBERT : ON : SAN

Virtually certain to be of this mint and moneyer (both forms of the mint signature are used in this type) but there is no die link with any coin in the B.M.

<i>Plate number (Pl. III)</i>	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Die Axis</i>	
15	20.7	↘	<i>Carlisle.</i> Moneyer:—WILLEM <i>Obv.</i> Illegible. <i>Rev.</i> ————EM : ON——— Die duplicate of coin in B.M. ex South Kyme Hoard (Scottish Border Coinage).¹
12	21.9	↙	<i>Chichester.</i> Moneyer:—GODWINE <i>Obv.</i> ————FNER <i>Rev.</i> [+ GODPINE(lig) : ON[:ICES:] A die duplicate of <i>BMC</i> 27.
13	21.1	↙	<i>Stamford.</i> Moneyer:—? LEFSI <i>Obv.</i> + S——— <i>Rev.</i> + ————I : ON : STAN : Possibly a die duplicate of <i>BMC</i> 101.
14	22.2	?	<i>Unidentified</i> <i>Obv.</i> Illegible <i>Rev.</i> + ————D : ON———: The reverse badly double struck. The moneyer's name (a very short one) appears to be unpublished.
16	22.3	?	<i>Unidentified</i> <i>Obv.</i> — STIEFN —— <i>Rev.</i> Illegible.
17	22.3	↘	<i>Unidentified.</i> Moneyer:—GODWINE <i>Obv.</i> Illegible. <i>Rev.</i> + GODPINE : ON : —— The mint is possibly Chichester but there is no die link with No. 12 or any coin in the B.M.
18	21.7	↘	<i>Unidentified.</i> Moneyer:—? GODWINE <i>Obv.</i> — TIEFNE RE — <i>Rev.</i> ————DPINE : ON : —— The same remarks apply as to the preceding coin.
19	20.8	↓	<i>Unidentified</i> <i>Obv.</i> ————NE REX : <i>Rev.</i> ———— : ON : SA —— The mint is probably Bury St. Edmunds but there is no die link with Nos. 10 and 11 or any coin in the B.M.
20	23.0	↘	<i>Unidentified</i> <i>Obv.</i> + S———FNER <i>Rev.</i> ————NVLF: —— Possibly RANDVLF a Colchester moneyer in Type 2 but more likely to be an unpublished moneyer for any mint.
(Pl. IV) 21	15.4	?	<i>Unidentified.</i> (<i>A variant of the type.</i>) <i>Obv.</i> ————IEFN. Followed by a large star of six points with curved rays similar to the heraldic 'estoile'. <i>Rev.</i> ————EV : ON : —— (Possibly blundered and/or meaningless.) <i>c.f.</i> <i>BMC</i> 236 (Pl. LVIII-3) a coin of uncertain attribution which has a similar obv. reading followed by a large rosette. This 'estoile' symbol appears to be quite unpublished and to constitute an unrecorded variant of the type. Its light weight of only 15.4 grains may possibly indicate irregular work.

¹ R. P. Mack, *BNJ* XXXV (1966), Pl. XII, no. 276a. We are indebted to Mr. Ian Stewart for this identification.

Plate number (Pl. IV)	Weight (grains)	Die Axis
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MULE TYPES 6/7

22	21.4	✓
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Hastings. Moneyer: RODBERT

Obv. + STIEFNE. A die of Type 6.

Rev. --- DBERT : ON : HAS (The 'h' of unusual form.) A die of Type 7.

The only known example of this mule, probably unique and certainly unpublished in *BMC*. It is therefore a coin of the highest interest and importance. Only one specimen of this mint and moneyer in Type 7 is known and that coin, which is in Mr. H. H. King's collection, is from a different reverse die. The mint is known in the excessively rare Type 6, also from only one specimen (also in Mr. King's collection) and that too is from a different die to this mule. Those two coins are illustrated in *BNJ* XXVIII, Pl. XXI, Nos. 40 and 41.

BMC Type 7

23	22.8	✓
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Bath. Moneyer:—ALVRED

Obv. + STIEFN —

Rev. + ALVRE[D : ON] : BATH

This remarkable coin establishes a completely new mint for the reign. Bath is unrecorded in any type later than c. 1130 in the preceding reign, i.e. something like 25 years earlier. Certainly unique and undoubtedly a coin of outstanding interest and importance.

24	20.2	✓
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'BRAN' (?Bramber). Moneyer:—RODBERT

Obv. --- TIEFNE :

Rev. + RODBERT[:ON:]BRAN

Unpublished moneyer for this excessively rare mint. For the attribution to Bramber see *BNJ* XXV, p. 119—also *BNJ* XXVIII, p. 548. As with 'HEDVN' and the mysterious 'CIPEN' this mint is not known to have existed in any other type and whether or not it is rightly attributed to Bramber it seems to be remarkable that it should have had as many as three moneyers (Orgar, Rodbert and Willem). The type is so rare that comparison may be invidious but so far as is known this number is only exceeded by two mints, viz. London and Norwich. In this respect "BRAN" now emerges on terms of parity with the major mints of Canterbury, Lincoln and York!

25	20.3	✓
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Canterbury.

Obv. + STIEFN —

Rev. — : ON : CAN —

The attribution to Canterbury seems reasonably firm but unfortunately the name of the moneyer cannot be read.

26	17.7	✓
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Dover. Moneyer:—ADAM

Obv. + s[TI]EFNE (: omitted)

Rev. + ADAM[:O]N: DOVRE

A die duplicate of *BMC* 190 (Pl. LV-11) hitherto considered to be unique of the type of the mint.

27	21.3	✓
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Dover. Moneyer:—?ADAM

Obv. + STIEF —

Rev. — N: DOVRE

From a different pair of dies to the preceding coin.

Plate Number (Pl. IV)	Weight (grains)	Die Axis	
28	21.6	↘	<i>Hereford</i> <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> ——— N: HEREF (the 'R' of unusual form). Hitherto only two specimens of this mint in this type have been recorded, viz. the two die duplicate coins of the moneyer DRU which are figured in <i>NC</i>, 1955, p. 243. This coin is from different dies to those but unfortunately no vestige of the name of the moneyer is visible.
29	22.8	↗	<i>Huntingdon.</i> Moneyer:—GODMER <i>Obv.</i> + ST ——— E:· <i>Rev.</i> + GO[DMER]O[NHVN]T The attribution to this mint and moneyer is established by a die duplicate specimen in Mr. Elmore Jones' + GO[———]NHV———. See <i>BMC</i> 194 (from different ex P. Carlyon-Britton sale lot 1471 and reading collection dies) for moneyer.
30	21.1	↘	<i>London.</i> Moneyer:—GEFFREI <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> [+] GEFFREI:ON:LV[ND] A die duplicate of <i>BMC</i> 200.
31	22.5	↗	<i>London.</i> Moneyer:—GEFFREI <i>Obv.</i> + ST ——— E:· <i>Rev.</i> + [GEF]FREI:ON:LVN From different dies to the preceding and next coins.
32	22.5	↗	<i>London.</i> Moneyer:—GEFFREI <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> + GEFFREI:ON:L—— From different dies to the two preceding coins.
33	20.7	↙	<i>London.</i> Moneyer:—RODBERT <i>Obv.</i> — — — E-NE:· <i>Rev.</i> + RODBER:O——VN From different dies to the two coins of this moneyer in the B.M.
34	22.7	↙	<i>Norwich.</i> Moneyer:—WILLEM <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> + FILLEM:ON:NO[R:] From the same rev. die as coin in Norwich Castle Mus. ex Roth lot 132 but from a different obv. die.
35	22.5	↗	<i>Pevensey.</i> Moneyer:—ALWINE <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> [+] ALPINE:ON:[PEF] An excessively rare mint and one not represented in the B.M. in this type. The attribution is established by a die duplicate specimen in Mr. Elmore Jones' collection ex Drabble lot 714 on which the mint signature is legible.
36	21.0	↘	<i>Sudbury.</i> Moneyer:—GILEBERT <i>Obv.</i> — — — EFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> + GILE———VD See <i>BMC</i> Nos. 183 and 211 (from different dies to this coin) for this moneyer and <i>BNJ</i> XXVIII, p. 550 for the attribution to Sudbury in preference to Southwark—or Bury St. Edmunds.

<i>Plate number</i> (Pl. IV)	<i>Weight (grains)</i>	<i>Die Axis</i>	
37	23.1	↖	<i>Tamworth.</i> Moneyer:—ALVRED <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> [+ A]LVRED:ON:TA[M] A die duplicate of <i>BMC</i> 212 and the second known specimen. For a discussion of the attribution to Tamworth see <i>BNJ</i> XXVIII, p. 552. It is most fortunate that this coin gives the first letter of the mint signature of which no vestige is visible on the B.M. specimen. It vindicates the <i>BMC</i> attribution to Tamworth and dispels one of the present writers' doubts concerning same.
38	22.3	↘	<i>Unidentified.</i> Moneyer:— ————AD <i>Obv.</i> — — — EFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> ————AD:ON:ST——— This coin probably establishes a new mint for the type; whilst the second letter of the mint signature has every appearance of being 'r' this is not completely certain. If 'r' the mint must be either Stafford or Stamford both of which were Type 1 mints (No. 13 being an example of the latter in that type) but neither of which, so far as known, continued striking in Type 7. No moneyer's name ending 'ad' is known in this type and, whilst there are two possibilities, it would be fruitless to speculate whether this could represent an ellipsing of the name of a known moneyer at these mints in a different type.
39	22.2	↘	<i>Unidentified.</i> Moneyer:—ADAM <i>Obv.</i> + STIE—— <i>Rev.</i> + ADAM:ON———(The 'm' of unusual form—mint signature illegible.) This is possibly a third coin of the Dover moneyer of this name but the mint signature is illegible and there is no die link with Nos. 26 & 27. A moneyer of this name also struck at London and Worcester but here again there is no die link. Only two such coins are known and both are illustrated in <i>BNJ</i> XXVIII (Pl. XXXI—Nos. 13 and 23).
40	21.0	↙	<i>Unidentified.</i> Moneyer:—RODBERT <i>Obv.</i> + STIEFNE:· <i>Rev.</i> + RODBERT:O———(Mint signature illegible.) From different dies to Nos. 24 and 33 and from any coin of this moneyer in the B.M. or known to us elsewhere.



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NEGLECTED DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE CURRENCY OF 14th CENT. SCOTTISH COINS IN N.E. IRELAND

By COLM GALLAGHER

THE still unpublished although calendared Register of Myles Sweetman, a late fourteenth-century Archbishop of Armagh, contains the document quoted below which seems never before to have been cited in a numismatic context. For the following transcript I am indebted to the generosity of the Registrar of the Armagh Province (C. of I.), Canon H. W. Love:—

In Dei nomine Amen. Nos Milo Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Armachanus Hibernie Primas de consensu tam nostro quam magistri Odonis ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Ardmachanae ecclesiarum Rectorum perpetuorum Vicariorum presentium absentiumque pro——(?) nostre diocesis Ardmachanae commemorantium die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli Anno Domini MCCCLXXIX in ecclesia beate Marie de Mandevilestone de unanimi consensu et concilio totius cleri nostri universaliter uniformiter et concorditer statuto Domini Regis (Anglie) et Domini Hibernie nos merito conformantes statuantes quod grosse pecunie Scotice per totam pro libertate ecclesie et utilitate terre per nullam personam exponatur alteri vel tradatur seu recipiatur nisi pro valore trium denariorum argenti pecunie Anglicane contra vere facientes sint auctoritate presentis constitutionis ipso facto excommunicati sententia Excommunicationis majoris et terra ad quam hujus transgressores declinabunt sit ipso facto ecclesiastico subposita interdicto.

Contractions have been of course silently expanded, but no attempt has been made to supply punctuation. The document is usually referred to as *Register Sweteman*, Entry No. 254. For *commemorantium* we should doubtless read *commorantium*; for *statuantes*, *statuimus*; and for *vere*, *vero*. The document may then be rendered something as follows:—

In the name of God, Amen. We, Myles, by the Grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, both with our own consent and with that of Master Odo [= Aodh], (Dean) of our Cathedral Church of Armagh, and with that of the Rectors and Perpetual Vicars of the churches, both present and absent, and with that of the Proctors (?) of our diocese of Armagh, (all) being assembled, on the Friday next after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the year of the Lord 1379, in the church of Blessed Mary at Mandevillestown, with the unanimous consent and counsel of the whole of our clergy, and universally, uniformly and wholeheartedly in proper conformity with the statute of the Lord King (of England) and Lord of Ireland, ordain that everywhere, for the liberty of the Church and for the utility of the land, the groat of the money of Scotland shall not be tendered by any person to another, nor passed nor received save for the value of three pennies of silver of the money of England, and that such as shall do to the contrary shall be by the authority of the present constitution automatically excommunicated with a sentence of greater excommunication, and any territory to which offenders may resort shall automatically be placed under ecclesiastical interdict.

The background of this edict is probably more familiar to Scottish and English students than to Irish. Originally the Scottish penny, and later the groat, had been struck to the same weight and fineness as the English counterparts, but in 1356 the English complained that the new Scottish money was inferior in both respects¹. The situation was for a time remedied

¹ R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 3rd. edn. p. 232: (B.H.) I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (London, 1840), Vol. I, p. 229 (s.a. 1355): E. Burns, (London, 1955), p. 25.
The Coinage of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1887), Vol. I,

and the great recoinage of 1357 was, in theory at least, a coinage to the English standard. Within a decade, however, there was again a marked falling off where weight at least was concerned, and in 1367 there was an official reduction which meant that the Scottish groat weighed only six-sevenths as much as the English¹. Naturally the discrepancy was prejudicial to acceptance of the Scottish coin outside Scotland, and in 1374 the English enacted that Scottish pieces should be current in England only at the rate of four pence Scottish to three English². The boot was now on the other leg, for the true value of a Scottish groat was rather more than threepence. The Act of 1374, several times re-affirmed, is, however, an English enactment, and applied only to England, but seems surely to be 'the statute of the Lord King' to which our document of 1379 refers.

Previous to this, English legislation concerning the coinage had at times been either imitated or confirmed in Ireland³, but as it happens no Irish version of this statute is extant, and none figures in the standard listing of laws known to have been in force in Ireland. In 1380 the English Commons linked the 'new money . . . made in Scotland and Flanders' with the general shortage of silver⁴, but when the Anglo-Irish Parliament dealt with the same topic the problem of the Scottish coinage was not one which was considered worthy of inclusion in their petition on the subject. The absence of a statute might even be said to be corroborated by this silence, so that it would have been tempting indeed to argue that Scottish coins had not reached Ireland in quantity. Our document, however, is good evidence to the contrary, and it is corroborated by hoard-evidence the importance of which cannot well be over-emphasized.

In a recent paper in this Journal⁵, Mr. W. A. Seaby, F.S.A., has listed a surprising number of Irish hoards with Scottish coins of this very period, and it is noteworthy that all but one of those which are known to have contained the offending groats are from Ulster. This in itself goes far towards explaining the relative affluence of the Ulster Museum and poverty of the National Museum of Ireland where Scottish groats are concerned. In this connection it is doubly unfortunate that the find-spot of the one hoard not from Ulster can be indicated with no greater precision than 'Connaught'⁶, a blanket-term which could blind us to the possibility, or even probability, that the county was Sligo or Leitrim, an area which in the fourteenth century looked to Ulster rather than southwards. In Leitrim, too, we are not more than a few miles distant from Pettigo, a notorious hoard from which suggests that the native Irish of the district were producing highly ingenious forgeries of precisely these Scottish groats several decades before the 'O'Reillies' provoked not one but two Acts of the Anglo-Irish Parliament⁷. The hoard-evidence, then, confirms the impression that Scottish groats of the 1370s enjoyed a wide currency in Ulster and its environs, but did not circulate freely in the rest of Ireland.

From all this it will be grasped that the Armagh document here published in full has a very considerable interest for the student of the monetary history of our island. Mandevilles-town—the modern Mansfieldstown—lies in mid-Louth, somewhat further to the south

¹ Burns, p. 240: Stewart, p. 31.

² Ruding, p. 233: Burns, p. 270: Stewart, p. 35.

³ E.g. H. F. Berry, *Irish Statutes: John-Henry V* (Dublin, 1907), p. 265 (Plea Roll 1 & 2 Edward II) etc.

⁴ Ruding, p. 239 (s.a. 1381).

⁵ W. A. Seaby & B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'A Fourteenth-Century Hoard of Scottish Groats from Balleny Townland, Co. Down', *BNJ* XXXIII

(1964), pp. 94–106.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. vii (= *Inventory* 98, but Connaught is not and never has been a county).

⁷ *Inventory* 310 ('Pettigoe'), cf. M. Dolley & W. A. Seaby, '“Le Money del Oraylly” (O'Reilly's Money)', *infra*, pp. 114–117. The acts referred to are those of the Parliaments of 1447 (Trim) and 1456/1457 (Naas).

than any known hoard with Scottish groats of the offending issues, but well within the boundaries of the archdiocese of Armagh and of the Northern ecclesiastical province. At this period, too, the Primate's position as regards the effective political power in Armagh itself was such that it was perfectly normal for a synod of his clergy to be convened at some place where the jurisdiction of the English civil power was more likely to be effective, so that the choice of Mansfieldstown, then a place of much more importance, need occasion no surprise. Readers, too, who are unacquainted with the continuing interest of the Irish Church in financial matters may wonder at the interest shown by mediaeval diocesan clergy in such sordid matters as the 'exchange-rates' of groats and pence. In fairness it must be observed that the business in question was not entirely of their own seeking. The late fourteenth century in Ireland was a period of almost continual warfare against the resurgent Irishry, and an increasingly impecunious Anglo-Irish administration was putting the screw on the clergy in particular. In 1413, for example, it was demanded in so many words of the clergy that they should send their proctors to Parliament armed with full powers to grant aids or subsidies. This power to assent in their name was generally granted by the clergy at a diocesan convocation before Parliament itself met, and 'after the meeting of Parliament, the question of assessing and levying the subsidy was again referred to a convocation'¹. There is evidence that this system did not grow up overnight, and already in the fourteenth century the clerical proctors had an important fiscal function—which is one of the reasons why it has been suggested that we should expand the *pro . . .* of the Armagh document as *proctorum*. Considerable portions of the archdiocese of Armagh lay *inter Anglicos*, and there at least the clergy would be faced with demands for aids and subsidies. If, as we suspect, quite a proportion of the money circulating in these districts consisted of the light Scottish groats, it would have been essential that the coins in question should be assigned an agreed value in terms of the official coin of the realm, and natural that this value should be identical with that proclaimed by the English king².

¹ J. Lydon, 'The Irish Church and Taxation in the Fourteenth Century', *Proc. Irish Catholic Hist. Committee* 1964 (Dublin, 1967), p. 4.

² It only remains for me to acknowledge gratefully the help I have received in the preparation of this paper from Mr. Michael Dolley, M.R.I.A., of the Queen's University of Belfast. For help with

certain difficulties presented by the transcript we are both indebted to the kindness of Dr. Gearóid MacNiocaill, M.R.I.A., of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. In neither case, though, are the views put forward in this paper necessarily shared by either of the gentlemen in question.

SOME UNPUBLISHED EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRISH FINDS

By MICHAEL DOLLEY and W. A. SEABY

RECENTLY through the generosity of Dr. T. S. Agnew of Jerrettspass, near Newry, the Ulster Museum was able to purchase part of a coin-collection (prior to the Johnston-Smyth sale at Ingram, Lisburn, Co. Antrim) which included an appreciable quantity of material from the Cupples cabinet. This collection was begun by the Rev. Snowden Cupples (1750–1835) who was Rector of Lisburn from 1796 until his death, and who also occupied the somewhat abstruse office of Vicar-General (C. of I.) of the diocese of Down. At this period the three historic sees of Down, Connor and Dromore were held in combination, though each diocese retained a considerable portion of its ancient internal hierarchy. It may be observed, too, that the title of Vicar-General was at no time usual in the Church of Ireland, and seems now to be in complete abeyance. In the Down diocese at least the holder was a species of ecclesiastical lawyer under the Chancellor, and never exercised the very wide measure of spiritual and administrative jurisdiction under the Bishop which is enjoyed in modern times by Vicars-General in the Roman Catholic Church where the dignity is one proper to virtually every see. The coin-collection formed by Snowden Cupples was continued for a time by one or more of the children, the most notable of whom was the Rev. Edward Cupples LL.B. who was born in 1785 and who had resided for a time in Antrim before making his permanent home at Lisburn. A Surrogate of the Down diocese before his father's decease, he succeeded him as Vicar-General, but appears to have eschewed regular incumbencies. The men of the family in this generation would seem to have been inveterate bachelors, and the coin-collection under discussion descended in the female line to the 1966 vendor. Interest in it clearly waned in the mid-1840s, and it seems fair to regard it as essentially Snowden Cupples', even though a number of the coins listed were added posthumously in 1839, 1841 and 1842. In this connection one may legitimately remark the absence of coins from the well-known Derrykeighan hoard of 1842, and this although the find-spot was a church-yard only a few miles from Ballyrashane where the Rev. Thomas Cupples (born 1789), Edward's brother and later to be the rural Dean of Dunluce, had been the incumbent since 1826 and was to be for several years thereafter. The focus of interest does seem to have been at Lisburn, and it may well have been one of the unmarried sisters who made the 1839 to 1842 additions. However this may be, the inspiration was clearly Snowden Cupples', and he was perhaps one of the first Irish numismatists to be sensitive to hoard-provenance, anticipating in this respect both John Lindsay of Cork and the Ulster antiquaries, J. Carruthers and S. G. Milligan. Unlike these worthies, though, the Cupples family did not publish their notes, and it is providential that the details here recorded should have been preserved at all.

The basis of this present account is a group of fifteen pieces of folded letter-paper on which are written details of the date of discovery and find-spot of the coins wrapped inside them. Most of the coins were seen by W. A. Seaby in the collection of the 1966 vendor more than a decade ago, and one of the finds was summarily noticed as no. 13 on p. 455 of the recent *Archaeological Survey of Co. Down* (Belfast, 1966); the angel was acquired by the Museum in

1955. For all practical purposes, though, the information now given would seem to break new ground, and not only Irish numismatists will be under a heavy obligation to Dr. Agnew for his generosity in making it public. The order of publication here adopted arranges the material under three main headings (*a*) hoards where find spot and date of discovery are known, (*b*) a group of coins presumptively a hoard or parcel therefrom, and (*c*) single-finds. Within each grouping the finds are listed in the presumed order of their concealment or loss. Each notice is headed by a transcript of the writing which appears on the wrapper, and to four distinct hands are assigned the letters 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D'. The overall pattern they present is as follows, the dates being those that appear on the individual wrappers where the hands occur:—

Hand A	1802	1821				
Hand B	1802	1822(2)	1833	1839	1842	
Hand C		1808, 1821, 1822(2), 1827, 1830, 1833(2), 1839(2), 1841, 1842				
Hand D			1839			

Hand A is certainly that of Edward Cupples—the notice is signed—and Hand D might well be that of Thomas. Hand C is the critical one but cannot be identified, while Hand B not only is very distinctive but confines itself to brief notes on the actual coins. It could well be later and belong to an owner intermediate between the children of Snowden Cupples and Roger Johnston Smyth, conceivably to a nephew or niece of Edward and Thomas.

(A) HOARDS

CARNBANE, *nr. Goragh Wood, Co. Armagh*, 1802.

Nine English silver pennies of Edward I and II are wrapped in a piece of paper endorsed as follows:—

Recto (Hand A): Ancient coins—
(Hand B): Supposed Ed. I

Verso (Hand A): These coins were found in the year
1802 under / a loose Stone at an ancient Cairn
2 miles / north of Newry, called Carnbane. They
appear / to me to be coins of the first Edward:
on the / reverse the inscription is *Civitas Londini*.
/ Probably deposited there by some English
settler at / the irruption of the Bruces. Robert
Bruce lan: / ded at C:fregus and penetrated as
far up the count: / ry as Dundalk, where he
caused himself to be / crowned.

Edw. Cupples

The reverse legend, of course, should have been read CIVITAS LONDON, and there is confusion between Edward Bruce and Robert Bruce, but the tenor of the note is clear enough. The coins are in poor condition, appear clipped, and are marred by patches of a reddish corrosion. A listing is as follows:—

	Fox Class	North no.		Grains	
			MINT OF CANTERBURY		
1	IIIc	1018	(Edward I)	16.3	1
2	IXb	1037	"	17.7	1
3	Xb	1039	(Edward I or II)	17.7	1
4	XIV	1065	(Edward II)	17.6	1

	Fox Class	North no.		Grains	
MINT OF LONDON					
5	Xa/LXb	1038/1037	(Edward I)	15.6	1
6	Xd	1041	(Edward I ?)	18.9	1
7	Xd/e	1041/1042	(Edward I or II)	17.1	1
8, 9	XIa	1060	(Edward II)	19.7, 19.0	2
					9
					—

The latest coin in the hoard is the class XIV penny of Canterbury which it would be difficult to place before 1318 even if it had been in mint condition and not sadly clipped and worn. To be contrasted is the find of very similar size from Annagassan in the next county which ends with a London coin of Fox class XIII (*Co. Louth Archaeol. Journ.* VII, 1 (1929), pp. 42-45: *Inventory*—: though the attributions cannot be accepted). Here Mahr has recorded weights uniformly between 22.0 and 22.5 grains, and the coins stand out from his plate as sharp and unclipped. In the case of the Annagassan find there is little doubt that the occasion was the Bruce "irruption" (*cf. UJA* 3, XXII (1959), p. 113) but the Carnbane find just cannot be so early, and a date well into the second quarter of the fourteenth century would seem demanded. The cairn at Carnbane, we are informed by Dr. Agnew, was demolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century to provide materials for the construction of a new lock on the near-by canal (See W. A. McCutcheon, *The Canals of the North of Ireland* (1965), pp. 27-28).

Co. DOWN, 1821.

Seven English and Scottish silver groats were found wrapped in a piece of paper bearing the following endorsements:—

<i>Recto</i> (Hand A):	Coins	<i>Verso</i> (Hand C): Found in the Coy of Down 1821
	David 2d.	
	Edwd. 3d.	

The paper is creased and rubbed at the critical point of the reverse inscription, and hence the "Bog of Down" of the *Archaeological Survey of Co. Down* volume cited earlier. Examination at leisure and in daylight has now convinced us that the word should in fact be read "Coy" (County) and not "Bog". On the other hand, the same more leisurely scrutiny of the paper and of its contents prompts us to endorse an observation jotted down by W. A. S. in 1955 when he remarked of a groat of Henry VI and of another of Edward IV:—

"Owing to their worn condition as opposed to the others it seems unlikely that they were part of the original hoard".

Unfortunately the warning was disregarded for the purposes of the 1966 *Survey*, for in strong daylight the coins can be seen to be quite differently patinated. It should be noted, too, that the endorsement of the wrapper ignores the presence of both the coins in question. In the case of the Edward IV groat it might conceivably have been argued that the Cupples family were unable to distinguish groats of Edward III from those of Edward IV, but the legend on Henry VI clearly begins HENRIC.

The seven groats may be listed under two heads as follows:—

(a) coins probably from the find

ENGLAND
EDWARD III

	grains
(1) Fourth coinage London groat: Lawrence class C, North 1147: annulet stops on obverse only.	67.3
(2) As preceding coin, but annulet stops both sides.	68.1
(3) 'Treaty' coinage London groat: Lawrence series (f), North 1252: double annulet stops on obverse and double saltire stops on reverse.	64.1

SCOTLAND
DAVID II

(4) Third ('intermediate head') coinage Edinburgh groat.	63.2
(5) Fourth ('Robert II head') coinage Edinburgh groat: Stewart 57, cf. Burns 291/292: pierced.	53.5

(b) coins that are probable interlopers

(a) Henry VI, annulet coinage Calais groat: North 1423—no fleur on breast: clipped and worn.	50.1
(b) Edward IV, 'light' coinage London groat: Blunt & Whitton class VIII, North 1571: <i>i.m.</i> crown/sun and quatrefoils beside neck and on breast: clipped and worn.	43.2

The three groats of Edward III can be dated to 1351/1352 (*bis*), and fairly early within the limits 1361–1369. Their Scottish counterparts belong *c.* 1364/1365 and *c.* 1365–1367. In other words the concealment of the find cannot fall much, if at all, before *c.* 1370, and might well be later, especially if the Cupples coins are only a parcel from a more substantial find; but it must be pointed out that the Treaty groat is in excellent condition. However this may be, the dissociation from the hoard of the fifteenth-century element means that we are given a most useful addition to the well-defined grouping of Irish hoards which are listed in *British Numismatic Journal*, XXXIII (1964), pp. 100–102.

LISWATTY, Ballyrashane parish, Co. Derry, 1839.

Seven of the base Anglo-Irish groats of Philip and Mary and of Elizabeth are wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C): Coins
Mary + Eliz.

Verso (Hand D): Found (1839) in a cove in the townland / of Liswatty parish of Ballyrashane / near where there was formerly / (according to tradition) an abbey / founded by Queen Mary of / England.=

The coins may be listed as follows:—

IRELAND
Billon groats
PHILIP & MARY

	grains
(1) 1556: REGINA.ANGL / <i>i.m.</i> wanting	cf. Coffey 2 ? 36.1
(2) 1557: ethnic wanting / NOSTRV. <i>i.m.</i> ?	Coffey — ? 41.4
(3) 1557: REGINA.A. / NOSTRV. <i>i.m.</i> rose	cf. Coffey 6 41.8
(4) 1558: REGINA.A. / NOSTRV <i>i.m.</i> rose	Coffey 2–5 41.8

ELIZABETH

			grains
(5)	Undated (1558): HIB.REGINA <i>i.m.</i> rose / MEVM <i>i.m.</i> rose:	Coffey 1 & 2	45.0
(6)	Undated (1558): [-HIB.R] EGIN <i>i.m.</i> rose / MEVM <i>i.m.</i> rose	Coffey 3 & 4	35.2
(7)	Undated (1558): HIB.REG <i>i.m.</i> rose / MEVM <i>i.m.</i> rose	Coffey 7-9	42.7

The *cove* may be presumed to be a souterrain, as Liswatty is flattish country well inland from the sea, and *cove* can have that sense in Ulster dialect (information from Mr. Brendan Adams of the Ulster Folk Museum). There is, too, some evidence for such comparatively late secondary use, and it may be supposed that even a largely collapsed complex could provide concealment and shelter in an emergency. The find would seem to date from the early 1560s, and the possibility of a highly significant regional grouping is discussed below. That the coins are in poor condition would seem due to the poorness of their alloy rather than to wear in circulation. It is not impossible that the find is the same as the next, two parcels having reached the Cupples family in Lisburn through different channels and with discrepant stories.

COLERAINE, "field near", Co. Derry, 1841.

Six of the base Anglo-Irish groats of Philip and Mary came to light in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C): Philip + Mary
&
Elizabeth

Verso (Hand C):—Philip + Mary — and Elizabeth
— / Found in field near Coleraine / about a spade
deep from the surface. / 137 found in a little
vessel, damaged / made of sally wood— / May—
1841—

The Elizabeth element would appear to have disappeared between 1841 and 1955, but the Philip and Mary coins may be described as follows:—

IRELAND

Billon groats

PHILIP & MARY

			grains
(1)	1555: REGINA.ANG. / NOSTRVM. <i>i.m.</i> porteullis	cf. Coffey 3 & 4	49.8
(2)	1555: REGINA.AN. / NOSTRVM. <i>i.m.</i> porteullis	Coffey 6 var.	42.6
(3)	1555: REGINA.ANG. / NOSTRVM. uncertain <i>i.m.</i>	cf. Coffey 3 & 4?	45.0
(4)	1555: REGINA. ANGLI. / NOSTRVM. <i>i.m.</i> rose	cf. Coffey 1	46.0
(5)	1557: Z.REGINA - <i>i.m.</i> rose / NOSTRV. <i>i.m.</i> rose	cf. Coffey 10-12	38.6
(6)	1557: - REGINA. <i>i.m.</i> rose / NOSTRVM. <i>i.m.</i> rose	cf. Coffey 9 & 10	32.0

Of the willow-wood container there is unfortunately no trace. Had it not been for the Cupples statement that coins of Elizabeth were present, one might well have remarked the presence of 4 of the 1555 groats, a date absent from the Liswatty parcel, and suggested a date of concealment prior to Elizabeth's accession, but they must at least be subsequent to her first Irish issue in 1558/9. There could be in fact no better example of the danger of arguing beyond the evidence where small parcels from minor hoards are concerned. Whether the "Coleraine, 1841" and "Liswatty, 1839" finds are one and the same hoard under two different descriptions may never be known, but the pattern of hoarding in Ulster at this period suggests that they could well be distinct. A card-index in the Ulster Museum has notes on another

find from Coleraine, 5 from Co. Antrim (Ahoghill, Belfast, Carrickfergus (2) and Glenarm), 4 from Co. Down (Downpatrick, Grey Abbey, Mountstewart and Newry), and 1 from Co. Donegal (Inishowen). All are composed of these billon groats and all may be supposed to have been concealed in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. It is difficult not to connect their pronounced Ulidian distribution with the ending of the threat to Ulster of conquest by the so-called "redshanks", mercenary colonizers from the Scottish Isles.

KILROOT, *nr. Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, before 1845?*

Four English and Scottish silver coins are wrapped in a piece of paper with the following endorsements:—

Recto (Hand B): Jas. I
& Elizabeth

Verso (Hand C): Found at Kilroot near Ck. Fergus

They are as follows:—

ENGLAND

ELIZABETH I

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (1) | Sixpence, third coinage, <i>i.m.</i> crown, 1569 (North 1997) | grains
44·8 |
|-----|---|----------------|

JAMES I

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| (2) | Shilling, second coinage, third bust, <i>i.m.</i> lis (1604/1605), North 2099 | 90·4 |
| (3) | Shilling, second coinage, fifth bust, <i>i.m.</i> key (1609/1610), North 2101 | 91·8 |

SCOTLAND

JAMES VI

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| (4) | Twelve shillings Scottish, coinage of 1609–1625, <i>i.m.</i> thistle, Burns 985 | 85·2 |
|-----|---|------|

Unfortunately we are not told if this is the whole hoard or only a parcel. The apparent absence of coins of Charles I might suggest a date towards the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The admixture of Scottish and English coins at this period is very much to be expected, owing to the settlement of so many lowland Scots in this region (see Seaby, *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 3, XXI (1958), p. 99).

LISBURN, *Magheragall Road, Co. Antrim, July 1833.*

Two Irish copper halfpence and an English silver sixpence are wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand B): Wm 3rd

Verso (Hand C): Found in a Bog at the West end / of
Lisburn, on the new road / to Magheragall— /
July 1833 —

They may be listed as follows:—

IRELAND

WILLIAM AND MARY

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (1) | Halfpenny, 1693, 14 strings to harp, Coffey 3 & 4 | grains
89·6 |
|-----|---|----------------|

WILLIAM III

- (2) Halfpenny, 1696, 12 strings to harp, Coffey 2 & 3

grains
95.7

ENGLAND

WILLIAM III

- (3) Sixpence, 1697, Chester mint, Jackson Kent 32

42.7

This may be supposed to represent the whole find which reflects presumably private misfortune rather than public calamity. (For a similar group see Seaby "Two small late seventeenth century hoards from Co. Tyrone", *BNJ*, XXXIII (1964), p. 173).

(B) PROBABLE HOARD OR PARCEL FROM HOARD (UNPROVENANCED)

Six of the base Anglo-Irish groats of Philip and Mary lie in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Hand B (?): Silver
Philip & Mary
Old Coins

They may be listed as follows:—

IRELAND

Billon groats

PHILIP & MARY

			grains
(1)	1555: REGINA.AN. / NOSTRVM <i>i.m.</i> rose	Coffey 6 var.	42.4
(2)	1556: REGINA.ANG. / NOSTRVM <i>i.m.</i> porteuillis	Coffey 1 var.	45.1
(3)	1556: REGINA.A. / NOSTRVM. <i>i.m.</i> porteuillis	Coffey 5	41.5
(4)	1557: ET.REGINA. (?) / NOSTR <i>i.m.</i> rose(?)	Coffey 8(?)	42.3
(5)	1557: ET.REGINA.A. <i>i.m.</i> rose / NOSTRVM <i>i.m.</i> rose	Coffey 5	47.2
(6)	1558: Z.REGINA.A. / NOST <i>i.m.</i> rose	Coffey 2-5	46.7

It is not impossible that these coins are a selection from either the "Coleraine" or the Liswatty finds just described, but equally the frequency of occurrence of this type of hoard in a N.E. Ulster context may suggest that there is no connection with either, and we might further draw attention to the pattern of incidence of the different dates and initial marks, and to the comparatively close bracket of the weights. Patination, unfortunately, is of no assistance, and for the present at least it seems preferable to maintain an open mind.

(C) SINGLE-FINDS

ASKEATON, *Desmond Castle, Co. Limerick*, 1830

An English penny of Edward II is wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C):

at
Askeaton

Verso (Hand C): Dug out of the old Banquett: / : ing
Hall of the Castle of / the Great Earl of Desmond
/ at Askeaton, Co. Limerick / 1830 —

The coin is of Fox Class XIa (c. 1310), North 1060, and weighs 19.4 grains. It is disfigured by a reddish stain (ferrous oxide?). Since the Desmond stronghold only dates back to 1299 this coin may represent a relatively early loss unless it survived into the latter part of the reign of Edward III or Richard II, as did so many Edwardian pennies in Ireland.

CARRICKFERGUS, "behind the walls", Co. Antrim, 1808.

An angel of Henry VII was enclosed in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C): Gold An:
:gel —
Circiter 1422

Verso (Hand C): This coin — called an / Angel temp.
Henry VI / was turned up by / a Plow behind
the / walls of Carrickfergus / ann. 1808.

The coin, acquired by exchange for the Belfast (now Ulster) Museum in 1955, weighs 78.1 grains and belongs to Brooke Group III. The *i.m.* is pansy (cf. North 1696), which suggests a date within the bracket 1490–1504, and the stops saltires. In a footnote on p. 344 of *BNJ*, XXX, ii (1961), the year of finding inadvertently appears as 1608, and as written the date on the wrapper is ambiguous. However on p. 375 of E. J. M'Crum's 1909 edition of S. McSkimin's *The History and Antiquities of the County and Town of Carrickfergus*, there appears the following:—

"In 1808, a gold coin of Henry VI called an angel, was found near the town wall".

Those words purport to be taken over directly and without alteration from the *editio princeps* of 1812, but in fact derive from p. 376 of the 3rd edition of 1829 where it appears among *Additions and Corrections*. This is one of very few pre-Stuart English gold coins to have been found in Ireland.

LISBURN, *The Plantation*, Co. Antrim, 1822.

An English sixpence of Elizabeth I has been folded into a piece of paper with the following endorsements:—

Recto (Hand B): Elizabeth

Verso (Hand C) Found at the Plantation / near
Lisburn. / June 1822.

The coin is of some interest, a full description being as follows: Brown fifth/sixth coinage mule, North second/third coinage mule, *i.m.* bell, 1583 (North 1997/2015), weight 40.5 grains (worn). The mule would seem to be unrecorded, and the piece is accordingly illustrated here from a very slightly enlarged direct photograph. The critical readings ELIZABETH and REGINA appear clearly enough.



BELFAST, "Belfast Gate", Co. Antrim, 1839.

An Irish sixpence of James I was found wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C): Coins

Verso (Hand C): Coin of James I found / at the
railway, near / Belfast Gate. August / 1839 —

(Hand B): Jas. 1st

The coin is of the second issue, *i.m.* escallop (1606/1607), and corresponds to Coffey no. 4. It weighs 33.5 grains. The reference is to the construction of the first railway in Ulster, the line from Belfast to Lisburn, E. M. Patterson, *The Great Northern Railway of Ireland*, (1962), p. 5. The original terminus was always in the vicinity of its very early successor, the present Gt. Victoria St. Station, and hence well outside the old line of the Tudor gated embankment. The "Belfast Gate" is probably the turnpike near the modern Shaftesbury Square, and we must assume that the point indicated is one very near where the modern Donegall Road passes over the Dublin line near the intersection of Roden Street.

LAKEFIELD, near Crumlin, Co. Antrim, 1842.

An English silver penny of Charles I is wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand B): Coin
[Copper] deleted
Chas. 1st.

Verso (Hand C) A Penny piece of Charles / 1st
found at Lakefield / near Crumlin — Nov. 1842.

The coin is of the Tower mint, and belongs to Group D (North 2270) *i.m.* two pellets. The weight is 8.3 grains.

GLENNAVY, Churchyard, Co. Antrim, 1827.

A Scottish turner of Charles II is folded into a piece of paper with the following endorsements:—

Recto (Hand C): Coin
found at
Glenavy
1823

Verso (Hand C): Oct' 1823 / The small Bodwell of
Charles I when the liberty / of coining was granted
to Alexander Earl of Sterling [*sic*] found at the
entrance of Glenavy Church yard / when the
(wins (?) in the avenue were (stalked (?)
(runs (straightened
out / 'See Nummi Britannici Historia' / p. 103.

As will be gathered, the handwriting of the fifth line of the *verso* account of the *find* presents some difficulty, but the general sense seems clear enough. The reference is to S. M. Leake's *Nummi Britannici Historia* published in 1726. The coin belongs to the issue of 1663, *i.m.* lozenge or more correctly mascle, and weighs 31 grains. The reference to the coin in Stewart's *Scottish Coins* is 243. (For similar Scottish coins found at Grey Abbey in 1842 see *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 3, XXI (1958), pp. 99-100).

LISBURN, Castle Garden, Co. Antrim, 1822.

An Irish copper halfpenny of William & Mary is folded into a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand B): Wm + Mary

Verso (Hand C): Found in Castle Garden / Lisburn /
6th April 1822

The coin weighs 90·6 grains, and is dated 1694. It corresponds to Coffey 5, and there are 13 strings to the harp.

Co. CAVAN, 1831.

A Manx copper penny (cast) of James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby, who was Lord of Man from 1702 until his death in 1736, was found wrapped in a piece of paper with the following endorsements:—

<i>Recto</i> : [Portion of letter in unfamiliar hand and concerned apparently with unrelated anti- quarian topics.]	<i>Verso</i> (Hand C): Coins [<i>sic</i>] found in Co. Cavan / — 1831
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The weight of the coin (Atkins 1) is 94·3 grains, and it is dated 1709.

In conclusion the authors would like to repeat the expression of their indebtedness to Dr. Agnew, and to add the information that he has transferred the ownership of 49 of the above-described 50 coins, 44 silver and 5 copper, and of the letter-paper wrappers to the Ulster Museum, Belfast, on terms that can only be described as characteristically generous. The material is thus after so many vicissitudes at last safely preserved for the benefit of future generations of students, and the intentions surely of the Cupples family realized in accordance with the very different conditions of another century.

UNRECORDED HEAVY NOBLES OF HENRY IV AND SOME REMARKS ON THAT ISSUE

By C. E. BLUNT

IN an important paper entitled 'The King's Mint and Exchange in London 1343-1543'¹ the late Professor T. F. Reddaway published (for the first time?), the record of a contract between the King and Richard Garner, master worker at the mints of London and Calais and keeper of the King's exchange in London, under which the number of gold nobles to be made from a pound was raised by three to forty-eight and the larger silver coins 28/- in place of 25/-. The proportion of alloy to metal remained unchanged in each case. The contract is itself undated, but Garner's grant of the post had been made in February 1409.²

The weight of the noble had been set at 120 gr. and the penny at 18 gr. by the indenture of 1351³ and was reduced to 108 gr. and 15 gr. respectively by the indenture of 1411 which took effect from Easter 1412.⁴ Garner's contract calls for intermediary figures of 112½ gr. for the noble and fractionally over 16 gr. for the penny.

It is interesting to note that the indenture provides for groats, half groats and pennies to be struck at the rate of 28/- from the pound tower, whereas for halfpence the rate is 28/4 and for farthings 29/-. On the introduction of the farthing in 1279, it was realised that they would be relatively more expensive to make than the pennies and that, consequently, the mintmaster was entitled to some additional remuneration for striking them; also that, if made of the same alloy as the penny, they would be inconveniently small. To compensate for these two factors a lower standard of silver was allowed and the weight was increased from the theoretical 5.5 gr. troy to 6.65 gr.⁵ In the following year the standard of silver for the smaller coins (the halfpenny had by then been introduced also) was raised to the standard of the penny but the weight was to be rather less than a half (or a quarter) of that of the penny so as to compensate for the extra cost.⁶ A differential was still in force in 1350. The indenture of that year provides for the pound to be struck into 22s. 6d. of pennies, 23s. 3d. of halfpennies and 23s. 5d. of farthings.⁷ The indenture of the following year did not, however, contain provision for the two smallest denominations, and groat, half groat and penny were ordered at 25s. to the pound.⁸ With the reintroduction of the halfpenny in 1355 the differential has vanished: groats are ordered at 75 to the pound, half groats at 150, pennies at 300 and halfpennies at 600.⁹ This continues down to Henry IV's indenture of 1402.¹⁰ In Henry V's indenture of 1413 the farthing appears and no differential is made for either of the two smallest denominations.¹¹ It is curious therefore to find it in Garner's indenture.

There is no specific evidence that Garner's indenture was acted on. There is a gap in the mint accounts for both gold and silver from Michaelmas 1408 to 29 November 1411¹² the

¹ *The English Historical Review*, lxxxii, pp. 1-23.

² *C.P.R. 1408-1413*, p. 102. The indenture which is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, has very kindly been translated for me by Miss Brigid Allen and is published in full as an appendix to the present paper by the Society's kind permission.

³ *Close Rolls*, 25 Edw. III, p. 379-81.

⁴ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, i, p. 255n, cites

Rolls of Parliament, iii, p. 658.

⁵ *BNJ*, vii, p. 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

⁷ *Close Rolls*, 24 Edw. III, pp. 217-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 Edw. III, pp. 379-81.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 Edw. III, pp. 235-8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3 Henry IV, pp. 579-82.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1 Henry V, pp. 64-6.

¹² *NC*, 1929, pp. 30 and 49.

period during which this intermediary coinage could have been struck. Mr. H. Schneider, to whom I am much indebted for help on a number of points in preparing this note, has pointed out to me that this is, effectively, the only gap in the mint accounts between Edward's introduction of the gold coinage and the latest years of Henry VI's reign.¹ This must raise the question whether the gap in the accounts may not be associated with the Garner indenture, which would seem not to have been enrolled in the ordinary way.

Mr. Schneider had already started to speculate on this gap before he was aware of the depreciation provided for in the Garner indenture and his private note written at that time is so remarkably perspicacious that I have asked his permission to quote it here:—

'We have a gap in the bullion figures between 1409 and 1412. . . . Between the return of the gold currency in 1343 and the height of the Wars of the Roses in 1461/2 there is no gap in the bullion returns except in respect of the years 1409/12. A suspiciously long period by the standards of the early 15th century. Was this deliberate?

'If one reads Whitton's comments² based on Sir Albert Feaveryear's research work, one wonders whether Henry IV did not proceed during the years 1409–12 along similar lines as Henry VIII under the secret indenture during the years 1542–4. For during no other period of late medieval economics was an urgent adjustment of the value of coins delayed for quite so long for political reasons. For about 15 years, I should say, for Harry Bolingbroke "inherited" the problem from Richard II and by 1409 the stage may well have been reached where he had no choice.'

This was written, remember, in ignorance of the existence of the Garner indenture. Its discovery must change what at that time was pure surmise into a theory deserving the most serious consideration and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Schneider for allowing me to print here the notes he then wrote purely for his own use.

Since no heavy groats of Henry's heavy coinage are known, we are deprived of the silver denomination which would show the greatest variation in weight between the three issues. The half groat should however show a difference of nearly 4 gr. between the heavy and the intermediary issue. Of this denomination I have records of five specimens:—

1. BM ex Shirley-Fox. Wt. 30.7 gr.
2. Ashmolean. Wt. 31.5 gr. (Pl. XV, 3)
3. Ashmolean ex Lockett 1369 ex Walters (1913) 233 ex Murdoch 314 ex Montagu 482 ex Shepherd 154 ex Martin 99 ex Willett. Wt. 32.1 gr.
4. Formerly in R. Carlyon-Britton's colln. (No pedigree). Wt. 30.2 gr.
5. Grantley 1386 ex Rashleigh 698. From (? found) near St. Albans, Herts., 1849. Wt. 35.2 gr.

The heavy issue would theoretically weigh 36 gr., the intermediate just over 32 gr. and the light 30 gr. The first four coins could therefore be of the intermediate issue, but all show varying degrees of wear and it would be inadvisable to place too much reliance on them.

In the gold we are better supplied with material. There are records of 20 nobles of the London mint and 7 of Calais.³ The weights of the three issues would be 120 gr., 112½ gr. and 108 gr. This should be a large enough margin for them to be differentiated. Yet among the London coins it is only some of those with the *earlier* form of the French arms which show grounds of possibly being given to the intermediate issue, e.g. the Bruun coin, no. 3 in my

¹ The record for the gold is actually missing for June–Sept. 1360, but for the silver has survived.

² *BNJ*, xxvi, pp. 59–63.

³ Since writing this I have been informed that,

contrary to earlier reports, there was in fact a heavy London noble in the Fishpool hoard, a summary publication of which is to be made in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

earlier listing,¹ which, though somewhat clipped, weighs only 98.4 gr.² Since, however, the nobles with the *later* form of the arms all weigh well over 112½ gr., this coin cannot be accepted as of the intermediate issue. Among the Calais nobles, one of those with the crown horizontally on the rudder and with the later form of the French arms (my IIb, 1) weighs only 103.5 gr. and though somewhat clipped, might better qualify.

The quarter noble, no. 7, in the list appended to this paper is significant in this context. It combines a late form of heavy die, with the French arms 2 and 1 but retaining the crescent over the shield, with a reverse with fleur de lis in the centre instead of the pellet characteristic of the heavy coinage. Its weight, 27 grains, is exactly the theoretical weight of the light quarter noble but the coin has seen some wear and is either struck on a flan too small for the dies or has been slightly clipped. The fleur de lis in the centre of the reverse would mark the die as being one prepared for the light coinage. The weight, however, seems somewhat too much for a light coin, having regard to its condition, and this quarter noble seems to have the best claim to be of the intermediate coinage, if in fact any coins were issued under Garner's indenture. Study of the light gold must await the availability of the Fishpool hoard.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Norman Cook, I am permitted to record here a new variety of the heavy noble of London of Henry IV, recently found in excavations in the City of London. I am very much indebted to Mr. Cook for this and for supplying the following information about the discovery.

The coin was found on the site of the Dyers' Arms, a public house in Cannon Street belonging to Messrs. Charrington, the brewers, who have most generously presented this very valuable coin to the Guildhall Museum. The house had been destroyed by bombs in the last war and the City of London Excavation Group, working under the direction of the Guildhall Museum, excavated the site and, in February 1966, found the coin at the bottom of a square chalk-lined cess-pit which contained a great quantity of pottery and glass. The pottery shows a date range of some 150 years, no doubt, Mr. Cook suggests, due to the successive partial clearing out of the cess-pit.

Close to the find spot stood a great medieval house called the Herber or Arbour, described in 1410 as 'placeam Comitis Westmerland vocatam le Erbere' and, in view of the richness in glass of the contents of the pit and the presence of this gold coin, Mr. Cook feels the cess-pit may have been associated with this great house.

The following is a description of the coin:—

Obv. HENRIC^xDEI^xGRA^xREX^xANGL^xFRANC^xD^xHI[-]AQ
French arms in first quarter with one lis at top, two below. Crescent on rudder.

Rev. +IHC^xAVTEM^xTRANSIENS^xPER^xMEDIVM^xILLORV^xIBAT
A lis at the head of the lion in the fourth quarter.

Wt. 117.5 gr. Pl. XV, 1. Guildhall Museum, London.

The coin is thus a mule between types Ib and II in the classification set out in vol. XXIV of this *Journal*, pp. 22 ff. The mule Ia/II was there recorded in a single specimen, since when a second has turned up (see below).

¹ *BNJ*, xxiv, pp. 22-7.

² The weight is given in the Bruun catalogue as 98 grs. and one was tempted to wonder if a mistake might not have been made. In spite of the reference to the coin being of 'light weight' and slightly

clipped, the loss in weight of 18% must be a matter of surprise. However, the cast of the coin in the British Museum has the weight, in Brooke's hand, as 98.4 grs. and it is clear that he must have checked it.

The new coin is therefore a hitherto unrecorded variety and its good weight indicates that it must have been lost before Easter 1412 when the light coinage was put into circulation. Thereafter such coins would have found their way into the melting pot.

When, under the difficult conditions prevailing in the last war, I published a note on the heavy gold coinage of Henry IV,¹ I gave a list of the specimens then known to me. Some additions and corrections to that list now fall to be made.

London Nobles

Type Ia

- 1 and 4. It seems likely that some confusion has arisen here in my original listing. There is in the British Museum a cast of the Dawnay specimen (no. 1) which gives the weight as 110.2 gr. and says that it was then in Major Carlyon-Britton's collection. Despite the alleged differences in the legend, this appears to be my no. 4, no cast for which is in the British Museum trays. The Dawnay coin is illustrated in the sale catalogue.
2. Ex Montagu (1898) 160 ex Brice.
3. Not in the Blunt collection. It was disposed of by Mr. Shirley-Fox during his lifetime.
5. Ex Rashleigh 692; later Carlyon-Britton and Ryan 23.
6. Murdoch 310 ex Montagu (1896) 475 ex Clarke 37 ex Marsham 312. Later Lockett 3065 (where the pedigree and weight are incorrect).

Additional specimens:—

7. BM ex Goldsmiths' Co. 1920 ex Carlyon-Britton ex Rashleigh 693 ex Foster 26 ex Martin 97. Wt. 108.4 gr.
8. Lockett sale 3995. Found in France, 1894. Wt. 119 gr.
9. Blunt ex Shirley-Fox. Wt. 86 gr. but much clipped.
10. BM 1935 ex Muscat and Silberstein. Wt. 106.9 gr. but pierced and damaged.

Type Ib

2. Ex Rashleigh 691 ex Tyssen (1802) 1198 ex Hodsol. Later Lockett 1367 (where the pedigree and weight are incorrect).
3. BM acquired 1848.
4. Wt. 117.9 gr. (Kindly supplied by Miss Archibald).
5. BM ex Hilton Price 29. Wt. 118.5 gr.

Additional specimen:—

6. Raynes sale (Glendining 15.ii.1950) lot 26 (ill.). No pedigree. Wt. 118½ gr.

Type Ia/II

1. Ashmolean. Wt. 118.5 gr.

Additional specimen:—

2. In a sale on behalf of the Friends of Winchester Cathedral, Christies, April 1959. Wt. 117½ gr.

Type Ib/II

1. The coin in the Guildhall Museum described above.

Type II

1. BM. Bought 1912. Mr. Schneider has pointed out to me that the evidence of better preserved products of the obverse die used for this coin, of which no less than 5 are known all used for the light coinage, shows that there is in fact, and always was, a lis on the rudder. I was wrong in saying, basing my statement on this coin alone, that there was nothing on the rudder.

Type III

1. BM ex Sir John Evans.

Mention should also be made of a noble in the Grantley sale catalogue (lot 20, regrettably not illustrated) with an X on the rudder and in the third quarter of the reverse. There are an annulet

¹ *BNJ*, xxiv, pp. 22-7.

and a slipped trefoil on the ship's side. The French arms have one fleur above and two below (a feature of the later heavy coinage). The weight is given as $107\frac{1}{2}$ gr. which clearly marks it as of the light issue, struck, no doubt, from an altered heavy obverse die. The preceding coin (lot 19) is said to weigh $118\frac{1}{2}$ gr. which would equally clearly mark it as of the heavy coinage, but my notes, made at the time of the sale, record that it has a trefoil and an annulet on the side of the ship and a trefoil in one quarter of the reverse. I would like to see both coins again so as to be able to check their marks and weight.

Calais Nobles

Type I

1. BM ex Montagu (1896) 474 ex Shepherd 148.

Type IIa

1. BM ex Goldsmiths' Co. ex Carlyon-Britton ex Walters (1913) 224 ('came from France in Feb. 1912 and was probably found there not long before').

Additional specimens:—

2. Norweb ex Thomas Pattinson of Carlisle in whose family it had been for at least 200 years. Wt. $119\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Ill. *BNJ* XXXI, Pl. V, 17.
3. Ashmolean ex Christchurch, Barton 1782. Wt. 118.1 gr. (Pl. XV, 2).
4. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, pl. I, 13. Had been in the collection of the late Robert Bootle, whose coins were sold to Lord Northwick and Mr. Richard Miles. Wt. 105 gr., but seemingly a large piercing. Present whereabouts unknown.

Type IIb

1. BM ex Sir John Evans ex Wigan.

Half-nobles

- London* 1. The Ryan coin weighs 57.5 gr., was ex Carlyon-Britton and is now in the BM.
Additional specimen:—

2. A second specimen was found in the Amiens hoard, May 1950, and is now in Mr. Schneider's collection. Wt. 59.9 gr. (Ill. *BNJ*, XXVII, Pl. VIII, 4).

- Calais* 1. The BM specimen, still unique, is ex Sir John Evans ex Murdoch 311 ex Montagu (1896) 476 ex Shepherd 150.

Quarter-nobles

- London* 1. Murdoch 312 ex Montagu (1896) 477 ex Brice. The Murdoch catalogue says the Montagu catalogue is wrong in stating that it is from the Young collection.
2. BM ex Sir John Evans.
3. Ashmolean. Wt. 27.0 gr.
4. Lockett 1368 ex Rashleigh 696 ex Cuff 867.

Additional specimens:—

7. Ryan 26 (ill.) ex Bruun 372. Wt. 27 gr. Fleur de lis in centre of reverse, a feature of the light coinage. This coin is discussed above.
8. BM ex Walters (1913) 229. Wt. 24.3 gr. (clipped). Nothing of the King's name is visible, but from the same obverse die as the preceding coin. (Ill. *BNJ* XXVIII, Pl. XXV, 18).

- Calais* 1. BM bought Webster 1869.

2. BM ex Walters (1913) 229. Same dies as 1 and 3. Wt. 24.4 gr.

Additional specimen:—

3. Fitzwilliam. Found in the churchyard at Ashurst, near Tunbridge Wells. Ill. *BNJ*, XXVIII, Pl. XXV, 17. Same dies as 1 and 2. Wt. 28.3 gr.

It is hoped that these notes may be of use to whomsoever next makes a detailed study of Henry IV's heavy coinage. I am particularly indebted to the Ashmolean Museum for providing casts of two of their coins and allowing them to be illustrated here.

APPENDIX

This indenture made between our lord king of England and France of the one part, and Richard Garner of the other part, witnesses that our said lord king, by the advice and assent of his Council, has ordained, made and established the said Richard Master and Workman of his gold and silver moneys in the Tower of London and in the town of Calais: which Richard has undertaken before the said Council to do with the same moneys according to the penalty and procedure following. That is, to make three kinds of gold coin, one having the weight of 6s. 8d. sterling, which shall be called a gold noble, and of which there shall be 48 such to the pound weight of the said Tower; another gold coin weighing half the said coin sterling of the weight of 3s. 4d., of which there shall be 96 such to the pound weight of the said Tower; and a third gold coin weighing one quarter of the aforesaid first coin or the weight of 20d. sterling, of which there shall be 192 such to the pound weight of the said Tower. And each pound of the Tower of the said coins shall be worth 16 pounds sterling of all the said coins which shall be 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Of these gold coins our said lord king will have from each pound thus made 4 sols, 8 deniers; and the said Master shall take for his work in coining, damages to the gold and bringing of the weight, and for his expenses and all manner of costs except the pledges of the Warden and other king's ministers of that place 2s. sterling for each pound weight of the said coins, and shall be paid at the hands of the said Warden. And thus the merchant will have £15 13s. 4d. from each gold pound which he puts to coin according to the standard of the noble. And because the said gold money cannot continually be made absolutely according to the right standard, but possibly through the fault of the Master or Workmen will be found too heavy or too light by more or less in weight or in alloy or in both: if our lord king wishes, when the said money is found at the assay before delivery to be too heavy or light in weight only or in alloy only or in both, as aforesaid, by the eighth part of a carat to the gold pound in weight and no more, the eighth part will be called to remedy by the Master and the said money should be delivered as good, if such a fault happened by chance and not otherwise. But if fault is found with the same money in weight or alloy or both beyond the eighth part of a carat and is called to remedy as aforesaid, then delivery must stop, and the money which is challenged and declared less than good be remelted and remade at the cost of the said Master so that it is corrected. And moreover, the said Master shall undertake to make five kinds of silver money. That is, one weighing four deniers sterling which shall be called a groat, and another of two deniers which shall be called a half-groat, and a third of one denier which shall be called a sterling. Of which silver coins there must be in the pound weight of the Tower 28s. sterling. And the fourth coin, which shall be called *maille*, shall be worth half a sterling, of which *mailles* there shall be 28s. 4d. in the pound of the Tower. And the fifth coin, which shall be called a farthing, shall be worth half the said *maille*, of which farthings there shall be 29s. in the pound weight of the Tower. And all the said silver coins thus made shall be of the alloy and standard of the old sterling, that is to say that each silver pound weight of these coins shall hold eleven ounces and two deniers sterling of fine silver weight and 18d. weight of alloy, each denier containing 24 grains. Of which silver coins our said lord king will have 4d. for each pound thus made; and the said Master will have for his work in coining, scales, bringing of the weight and all other costs except the pledges of the Warden and other king's ministers as above, 10d. for each pound weight of the Tower. And thus the merchant will get 26s. 10d. for each pound weight of the Tower. And because the said silver money cannot continually be made absolutely according to the right standard, but possibly through the fault of the Master or workmen will be found too heavy or too light by more or less in weight or in alloy or in both: if our lord king wishes, when the said money is found at the assay before delivery to be too heavy or too light, that is in weight two deniers of weight and in alloy two deniers of weight in the pound weight and no more, the two deniers of one and two deniers of the other will be called to remedy by the Master and the said money should be delivered as good, if such a fault happened by chance and not otherwise. But if fault is found with the same money at the same assay in weight or alloy or both beyond two deniers of weight to the pound weight as aforesaid, then delivery must stop, and the money which is challenged and declared less than good be remelted and remade at the cost of the said Master so that it is corrected. And the said Warden shall guard and survey the said gold and silver money at all times, as befits his office. So that as soon as any of this money is coined and made between him and the said Master, he shall put it in a strong safe with two keys, of which one shall remain with him and the other with the said Master until delivery. And after that the said gold and silver coins shall be assayed and approved in the aforesaid manner. Before any delivery, let a sample be carefully taken from the whole sum and put in a box. Of which assays shall be made at Westminster: that is, from each five pounds' weight, the equivalent of $1\frac{1}{2}$

gold nobles. And let there also be taken 3s. 4d. from each 100 pounds' weight of silver for account. And when the said samples of gold and silver have been taken and put in a box to make the assay of them at Westminster as aforesaid, they shall be sealed with the seals of the said Warden and the seal of the Master, and the said box shall be locked with two keys, of which one shall remain with the Warden and the other with the said Master. And the said box being thus secured shall be put in a safe for protection. And it shall be opened once every three months on reasonable notice of doing so before any lords of the Council of our said lord king appointed for this; and in the presence of the said Warden and Master assays shall thereafter be made of the said gold and silver coins found in the said box in what seems to be the most just manner, by fire or by touch or both. Insofar as the said gold and silver coins are found and proved good and proper according to the aforesaid covenants, the said Master shall be acquitted and excused, provided that he has at that time and concerning that matter, by agreement, letters patent under the Great Seal of our lord king, with no fee to pay, specifying that the said assay has been found as aforesaid. And if the said gold and silver coins should be found by the said assays thus made at Westminster, in weight or alloy or both, below the proper standard by more or less within the said remedies and no more, that fault shall be entered on record and the said Master charged for doing it at the will of the king our said lord. If, however, at the said assay, gold and silver money shall be found at any time surpassing the standard of goodness in weight or alloy or both, by virtue of the said remedies, that excess shall be entered on record and included in the charge which the said Master shall have made to him when any fault is found with the said coins by the said assays of Westminster. And if it happens that on any of the just assays which shall be made of the said box in the said manner at Westminster the said gold and silver coins shall be at fault in weight or alloy beyond the remedies ordained by the said Master as aforesaid, the said Master shall make amends and remission to our said lord king at his will. And, furthermore, the said Master shall be bound at his peril to make a privy mark on all the coins that he has, gold as well as silver, so that he may know if necessary later on and recognize which gold and silver coins among others of the same kind are of his own workmanship, and which not. *Item* that then or beforehand the cutter of gold and silver dies is ordained and deputed in the same way to his office by the said Master.

If our lord king wishes it, the said die-cutter shall in future be appointed and ordained by the said Council and sworn to perform the said office well and loyally, in one room in the Tower appointed for it and nowhere else, under the surveillance of the said Warden, and in the proper manner. And this die-cutter shall be paid for his work at the hands of the said Warden; and he shall receive a fixed sum to be agreed on before the said Council. And when he has cut the dies he shall deliver them all by indenture, in the presence of the said Warden, to him who has been ordered to have custody of the said dies by our said lord king, in the proper manner. And the said Master shall be bound to receive each kind of gold and silver brought to the Tower according to its true value: that is, each piece in its degree, one more and the other less according to their quality. And if the said Master and the merchant who brings his gold and silver cannot agree between them on the true value, then the king's assayers appointed for this shall decide in the presence of the said Warden and Master on the truth, according to the evidence of these two assays, made one by the said Master and the other by the said assayers. The Master will accept it and be charged with it in the proper manner. And if our said lord king wishes it, two good stones and one true touch-stone shall be provided to the use of our same lord king to make the assay of carat gold between the merchants and the said Master, and they shall be kept in the custody of the said Warden and Master. And the balances and weights shall always be amended and corrected from time to time when necessary; and no fault should be found with them to the harm of the people. And the said Warden shall be bound, on the receipt of gold and silver, to deliver bills to the merchants for the sums which they have brought there and also for the sums which they should receive at the delivery. And, moreover, the said merchants or their assigns should on showing the said bills be repaid at the delivery in the proper manner. And the said Warden shall make deliverance of such bills to the said merchants, paying reasonably for them; and the merchants bringing gold and silver to the Tower shall be able to come and go freely and without any disturbance to the porters or others, and without paying ransom to any of them for coming or going by agreement with the said merchants. And delivery of gold and silver shall be made once or twice a week or more, at the will of the said Master; and after the assay made before the delivery of the said money, the said Warden and Master shall see the quantity of the sums received and the number of the persons to whom they are to be delivered. If, moreover, the sum in hand is insufficient to make full payment to everyone, the sum of the delivery shall be apportioned in public. And everyone shall receive part of his payment, with consideration of the time when each merchant brought his gold and silver there, and of the time when his

gold and silver were melted down. And the said Warden shall be bound to show each merchant at the delivery when he will repay him. And in case any merchant is absent from his delivery and has no-one assigned by him who is prepared to take the money, the said Warden shall be bound to take the money and guard it safely under the seal of the said Master until the absent merchant or his assign shall come to receive payment of his money remaining here in the custody of the said Warden, which money shall then be promptly delivered to him as if he had been present at the first public delivery. And because the said Warden shall collect before him all the profit belonging to the king and render account of it as above, the said Master shall not be bound by any account rendered to our lord king but only to the Warden, except for the damages accounted to him for the faults found with the gold and silver coins by the assays of Westminster, in view of the said remedies concerning which he shall reply to our said lord king as aforesaid. And our said lord king will have it held and defended throughout his kingdom that no-one shall take out of his kingdom any gold or silver money or bullion on pain of losing its value and his life at the will of the king, except by special leave of the king, or if it is a sum of gold and silver for the expenses of those leaving the kingdom; and that that gold and silver money shall be of the coin of our said lord king, and of such quantity as may reasonably suffice each one according to his degree. And no man shall bring into England any kind of false or counterfeit gold and silver money on the same penalty; and anyone who sees a man doing this shall confront and follow him for the king's sake. Out of any money found to be false or counterfeit, and of gold and silver money or bullion discovered to be taken out of the kingdom against the said rule, one-third shall go to him who finds or sees it and two-thirds to our said lord king. And our said lord king confirms by these indentures to the said Master, his ministers and workmen of the said coinage the charters of franchises previously granted to the moneyers according to the effect and purport of the same charters. And the said covenants shall be well and loyally kept and performed by order of the said Master; and he shall behave well and rightly towards our said lord king and towards the people in his said office, and shall make agreement with the king to take a corporal oath before the Council of our said lord king to oblige him, his heirs & executors to our same lord king by these. And for a surety he shall make an agreement with the merchants about the price of the gold and silver which he shall receive in the aforesaid manner, just as in the same office the said Master has found *mainprise* before the Council of our said lord king. Which is to be known.



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2



3

HEAVY COINS OF HENRY IV



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7



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9



“LE MONEY DEL ORAYLLY” (O'REILLY'S MONEY)

By MICHAEL DOLLEY and W. A. SEABY

In January 1447 an Anglo-Irish parliament met at Trim, and its legislation included the following:—

‘Also, forasmuch as the clipping of the coin of our lord the King has caused divers men in this land of Ireland to counterfeit the said coin, to the extreme hurt and destruction of the said land, and the making of gold bridles and poitrels also has wasted and consumed the gold of the said land for the greater part, and is like to do more hereafter, if it be not speedily remedied; wherefore it is ordained and agreed by authority of this present parliament that no money so clipped be received in any place of the said land from the first day of May next to come, nor the money of Oraylly or any other unlawful money, provided that a coiner be ready at the said day to make the coin. And also that no man be so daring henceforward as to use any bridles of gold, poitrels or any other harness of gold in any place of the said land, except knights and prelates of holy Church; and if any man be found with any such bridle, poitrel or any other harness of gold from the same day, that it shall be lawful for every man who will, to take the said man, his horse and harness, and to possess it as his own goods.’

In December 1456 a similar parliament convened this time at Naas ordained:—

‘Also, at the request of the Commons. Whereas this land of Ireland is greatly impoverished from one day to another by the great withdrawing, taking and carrying out of the said land into England, of silver plate, broken silver, bullion, and wedges of silver made of the great clipping of the coin of our sovereign lord the King, by his Irish enemies and English rebels within the said land, by which his said coin is diminished and greatly impaired, and the Irish silver called Reilly’s increase from one day to another, to the great injury and impoverishment of his said people of this his said land, and annihilation of his said coin. Whereupon the premises considered, It is ordained, established and provided by authority of said parliament that for every ounce of broken silver, bullion and wedges of silver, taken by any person or persons out of the said land, the said person or persons to pay, satisfy and content to the King, twelve pence of each ounce for custom, to be received by the hands of his customers for the time being; except lords and messengers going into England upon the business of the land, who may take plate with them according to their degree.’

The two extracts are, of course, quoted here in translation, the edition used being that of Berry,¹ but for a serious student the original Norman French does not present any undue difficulty, though in passing we may remark that the principal difference between Berry’s rendering and Simon’s of more than a century and a half before is that one would not know from the eighteenth-century numismatist’s version that the 1447 statute was hitting at gold-mounted harness as well as at counterfeit coin.² The problem still confronting the numismatist is the identity of *le money del Oraylly* or *Argent irrois appelle Raillyes*, a mystery which has exercised students of Irish history for rather more than three hundred years.

What has first clearly to be recognized is that there ought to be some fundamental connection between the widespread clipping of “the coin of our lord the King”—at this period

¹ H. F. Berry, *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, Reign of Henry VI*, Dublin, 1910, pp. 91 & 451.

² J. Simon, *An Essay on Irish Coins etc.*, 2nd edn., Dublin 1810, pp. 20 & 78 (identical pagination

with 1st edn., Dublin, 1749). In the main text the relevant statutes are dated to 1446 and 1457 and in the appendix to 1447 and 1457. Confusion over the regnal year seems the cause of the inconsistency.

essentially, as is shown by coin-hoards, English groats of Edward III and of Henry VI—and the production and currency of *le money del Oraylly*. Both the 1447 and 1456 statutes stress this connection. In other words there is a pretty strong suggestion that the Irish forgeries closely resembled clipped English groats, and might even have been made from the clippings. We may stress also the fact that they are described as *Argent irrois* ("Irish silver"), so we can postulate a coin that purports to be silver. As it happens, too, hoards provide some useful corroboration that the clipping of English coin was extensively practised in Ireland about the middle of the fifteenth century. Perhaps the most spectacular illustration is the 1840 Oldcastle find which is in process of publication on the basis of a MS listing by Dean Richard Butler of Clonmacnoise, the Trim antiquary, recently discovered in his graingerized copy of Lindsay's *Coinage of Ireland*.¹ In this hoard concealed c. 1468 there were 75 English groats of Edward III–Henry VI, all but four of them clipped.

A second requirement of any plausible identification of *le money del Oraylly* is that it should be associated in some way with the Ó Raghallaigh. Berry saw this very clearly when he argued that the coins should be equated with the "cross caoile" money which he supposed to have been struck "by O'Reilly at Crossakeel" near Kells in the west of Co. Meath.² Recently, however, it has been shown that the *croise caoile* or *cross-keele* coins belong to a later period, and were the so-called *three-crown* groats struck for Richard III and Henry VII at Dublin and Waterford.³ Accepting an association with the Ó Raghallaigh, it seems reasonable to suppose either that the legends and/or types of *le money del Oraylly* adverted to that family—which is unlikely inasmuch as generations of numismatists have been looking out for such a link and have failed to report success—or it should hail from a part of Ireland where the Ó Raghallaigh were supreme. The most important sept of the Ó Raghallaigh in fact was that of Breffny, and the Cavan-Meath mearing may be regarded as the epicentre of Ó Raghallaigh influence. It will not be lost on the Irish reader that Oldcastle lies in this general area.

Both in the Ulster Museum and in the National Museum of Ireland at Dublin there are rare coins which seem to measure up to all our requirements. It will be remembered that in April 1852 there was found at Pettigo in Co. Fermanagh a most interesting group of forgeries of unclipped Scottish groats produced by hammering thin sheets of silver over actual coins and then pairing up the resultant clichés with a lead-solder core.⁴ The plated groats to which we would draw attention are produced in the same way but the models are clipped groats, in the case of the Ulster Museum specimen of the smaller denomination, a Calais groat of Henry VI [Plate XIV, 1], and in the case of the National Museum specimen of the larger denomination what seems to be a contemporary forgery of an Anglo-Irish groat of Edward IV [Plate XIV, 2]. Not illustrated is a second 'coin' in the National Museum of Ireland, a cliché of the reverse only of a heavily clipped annulet Calais groat of Henry VI, the surviving portion apparently of a disintegrated forgery corresponding in every way to that now in the Ulster Museum. Both the National Museum of Ireland coins are without provenance.

It will be objected, doubtless, that the coins which it is sought to identify with the *Argent irrois appelle Raillyes* are too rare to be the apparently common pieces so vehemently denounced by the Anglo-Irish parliaments of 1447 and 1456, but a factor that must be taken into consideration is the selectivity of the modern collector, public as well as private. It will

¹ M. Dolley, N. Nesbitt and D. Rebbeck, 'Three Unpublished Nineteenth-Century Irish Finds', *UJA XXX* (1967), pp. 89–94.

² Berry, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

³ M. Dolley and G. MacNiocaill, 'Some Coin-

Names in Ceart Ui Néill', *Studia Celtica*, II (1967), pp. 119–124.

⁴ *Inventory* 310, and papers by Aquilla Smith and D. F. Allen therein cited.

be recalled that the Oldcastle find is on record as containing no fewer than 71 clipped English groats, although of course the degree of clipping is uncertain and it could be that the shearing did not in every case remove the whole of the outer legends. Of comparable coins there are none in the National Museum of Ireland, and only 8 heavily clipped in the Ulster Museum, where until quite recently the manner of acquisition was much more haphazard, or 11 if we include half-groats cut down to penny size.¹ Interestingly, too, the provenances of the Ulster Museum coins can be interpreted as looking towards Breffny. It is our belief, too, that now that the *Argent irrois appelle Raillyes* have been identified, more attention will be given to heavily clipped coins of the period, and especially if *le money del Oraylly* should once begin to be sought after by collectors and others. The very method of its construction, though, must militate against its preservation in the soil except under the most favourable circumstances—one may compare a certain type of plated forgery of the Anglo-Saxon penny of which only the odd specimen is known today although its prevalence in its heyday led to systematic physical tests being carried out on the great majority of the coins which found their way to Scandinavia, virtually tens of thousands of coins exhibiting the all too familiar "pecks".²

To sum up, *le money del Oraylly* or *Argent irrois appelle Raillyes* may be identified as plated copies of the clipped English groat of the last half of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. The clipped groats usually weigh in the region of 30 grains, and the Dublin specimen, which is without provenance, in fact weighs just over 29 grains. Less frequently both groats and half-groats also were cut down to "penny" size, and here the weights are in the region of 18 grains, so that the Belfast specimen, acquired in 1955 from an antique dealer, Mr. Angus Macdonald,³ which tips the scale at just under 16 grains would easily have passed muster. It can be shown from the Pettigo hoard that the method of manufacture was known in the Lough Erne area immediately to the north-west of Breffny, and no less significantly it is Oldcastle, in the heart of "O'Reilly's country", which has provided the largest recorded hoard of the prototypes. What one cannot help wondering, of course, is how many of the forgeries were in fact in the hoard. In Dean Butler's day, one fears, scarcely as much as a second glance was given to any coin clipped to such an extent that it might be thought unworthy to grace the cabinets of collectors perhaps just a little too concerned with the choice and the rare.

¹ Cf. Appendix *infra* for list. It should be noted, nevertheless, that these reduced coins amount to approximately 10% of the total groats (Edward III–Henry VI) and more than 5% of the total half-groats, of the same period, in the Belfast cabinet.

² R. H. M. Dolley, 'Contemporary Forgeries of Late Saxon Pence', *BNJ* XXVIII, i(1955), pp. 185–189.

³ It came with a hoard from an unknown source, the other coins mostly dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but so worn, clipped, broken and chipped that they may well have survived in circulation in Ireland to be deposited in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Publication is planned in the near future.

APPENDIX

Clipped English groats and half-groats (Edward III-Henry VI) in the Ulster Museum

Group A—groats cut down to make the larger denomination.

- (1), (2) & (3) Edward III, pre-Treaty issues, London mint, *ex* Grainger coll., wts. 29.6, 29.1 and 28.8 grains. [Plate XIV, 3-5.]
- (4) Edward III, pre-Treaty issue, London mint, *ex* O'Connor coll. (Newry), wt. 32.8 grains. [Plate XIV, 6.]
- (5) Henry V, Brooke type C, mullet on rt. shoulder, London mint, *ex* Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, wt. 26.7 grains. [Plate XIV, 7.]
- (6) & (7) Henry VI, annulet issue, Calais mint, *ex* Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, wts. 37.0 and 32.0 grains. [Plate XIV, 8 & 9.]

Group B—groat cut down to make the smaller denomination.

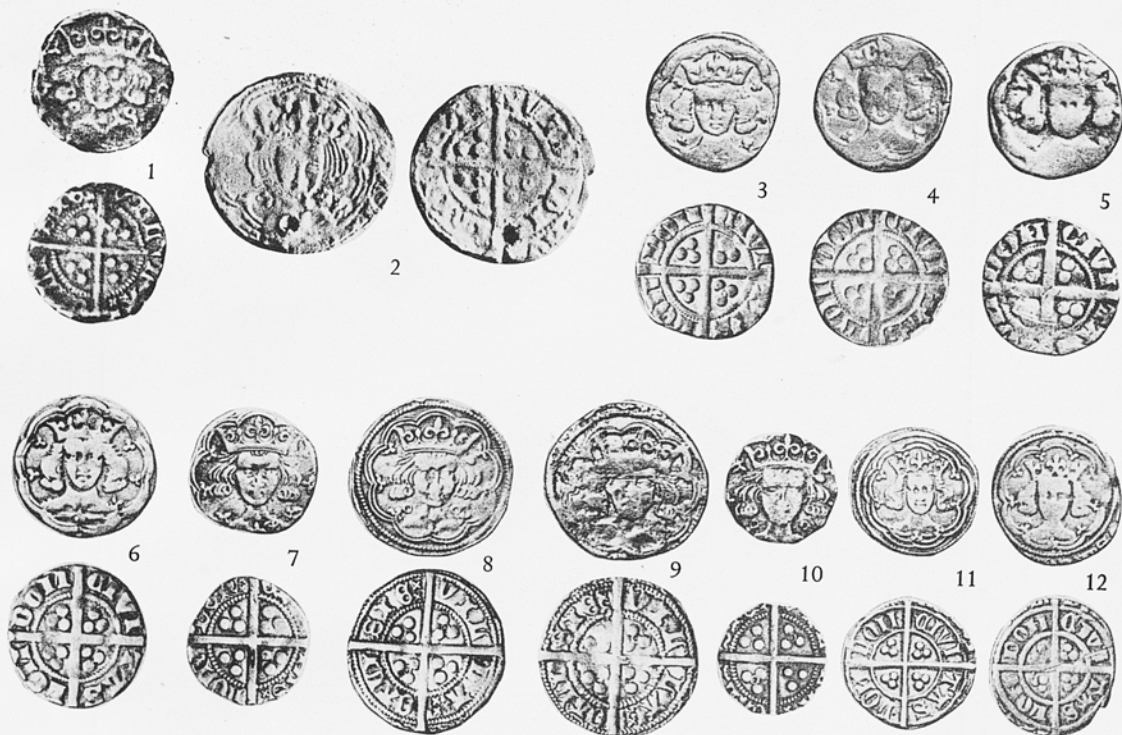
- (8) Henry VI, annulet issue, Calais mint, *ex* McConiskey coll., wt. 17.0 grains. [Plate XIV, 10.]

Group C—half-groats cut down to make the smaller denomination.

- (9) Edward III, post-Treaty issue, London mint, *ex* Grainger coll., wt. 18.8 grains. [Plate XIV, 11.]
- (10) Edward III, pre-Treaty or Treaty issue?, London mint, *ex* Swan coll. (Donegal), wt. 19.0 grains. [Plate XIV, 12.]
- (11) Henry VI, pinecone/masle issue, Calais mint, *ex* O'Connor coll. (Newry), wt. 13.9 grains. [*Not illustrated*].

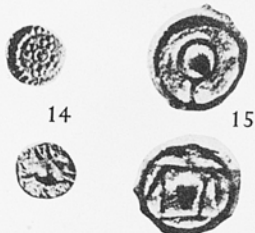
Clipped Anglo-Irish groat (Edward IV) in the Ulster Museum

- (12) Edward IV English type, light issue, G on breast, Coffey, pp. 32/3, Nos. 32-33 (roses in 2nd and 4th quarters) *ex* O'Connor coll. (Newry), wt. 19.3 grains. [Plate XIV, 13.]



13

O'REILLY'S MONEY



See pp. 9-10



16

MISCELLANEA

17



18



19



20

ELIZABETHAN BUNGAL(L)—A CONTRIBUTION TO ANGLO-IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY

By MICHAEL DOLLEY

ON p. 36 of both the 1749 and 1810 editions of James Simon's invaluable work entitled with undue modesty *An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins and of the Currency of Foreign Monies in Ireland*, there occurs the following passage relative to the state of the Anglo-Irish coinage in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth I:—

'No sooner was the base money decayed, and prohibited in England, but it was sent over in great quantities into this kingdom, where the Bungals, as they were then called, went for six pence, and the broad pieces for twelve pence; but in a short time after, the former passed for two pence, the latter for a groat; and when they were refused elsewhere, they passed in Connaught, the first for one penny [*sic*], and the last for two pence.'

This neglected statement derives from the following passage which appears on p. 168 of William Nicolson's *Irish Historical Library* of 1724:—

'The *Bungalls* (as call'd by the *Irish*) went for Six-pence, and the *Broad-Pieces* for Twelve-pence, at first: But afterwards the former went only for Two-pence, and the latter for a Groat. This lasted not long. After they were refused elsewhere they continued to pass in *Connaught*: the former at a Penny, and the latter at Two-pence.'

Nicolson's authority is a passage in the English version of Robert Ware's recension of his father's unpublished *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* which are most readily accessible in the edition of Sir James Ware's *Irish Antiquities* published in London in 1705, the source which Nicolson in fact employed. On p. 8, *s.a.* 1564, appears the following:—

'The mixt Money of *England*, not passing there any longer, great Store of it came over hither: the *Bungalls* (as called by the *Irish*) went for six pence, and the broad Pieces for twelve pence at first: but because the Coyne had been lately Amended, the six pences went here for two pence; and the shillings for a Groat, for a while; and since that, they continued to pass in *Connaught*, the former for a penny, and the latter for two pence.'

For the numismatist there is the problem of identifying the coins concerned, 'sixpences' known as *bungal(l)s* and 'shillings' known as *broads*, while the concern of the linguist must be to recognize the early Modern Irish coin-name underlying *bungal(l)*. At this point it may be observed that one looks in vain for *bungal(l)*, and also for the Irish **bonn geal* which this note suggests underlies it, in the standard numismatic dictionaries of Schrötter, Martinori and Frey. Equally *bungal(l)* is wanting from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, while more understandably the combination **bonn geal* is not commented upon in Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* nor under the letter 'G' in the Royal Irish Academy's *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*—the fascicle for 'B' has yet to appear.

It is probably easiest as well as safest to approach the two problems on the basis of Ware's text. The reference there to the recent 'Amendment' of the Anglo-Irish coinage is surely to Elizabeth's 1561 issue of virtually sterling silver shillings and groats Irish. In London

these pieces were estimated to be three-quarters of the value of the shilling English, so that in theory at least each shilling should have weighed 72 grains and, more important for our purpose, have contained 66 grains or so of pure silver. In other words, an English base 'sixpence' which after 1561 passed only in Ireland and for twopence should have contained little more than 22 grains of pure silver and might conceivably have contained very much less. There can be little doubt that these *bungal(l)s* were the 3 oz. fine base shillings of Edward VI with initial marks lis, lion and rose, and dates 1550 and 1551, which contained only 20 grains of pure silver, and which had been revalued already under Edward VI as sixpences. In England in 1560 they were again revalued at 2½d, and countermarked with a greyhound before being finally demonetised in 1561. It may seem a little surprising that in the late 1550s such coins had passed in Ireland for sixpences Irish, but in fact the valuation was not all that wide of the mark. The Anglo-Irish groat at this period seems normally to have contained in theory 12 grains of silver, so that any sixpence Irish should have contained 18 grains. What is interesting is to find the name of *bungal(l)* attaching to silver coins which were only 3 oz. fine, coins which to this day have a very distinctive colour and texture. It is a point to which we will have to return.

The *bungal(l)s*, then, stand provisionally identified with the very basest of the English testoons of Edward VI. What were the 'broad' pieces which in the late 1550s passed in Ireland for shillings, but after 1561 only for groats, and ultimately for even less? Clearly they were the double of the *bungal(l)*, so that the silver content should have been in the region of 44 grains. Inevitably one thinks first of the 6 oz. fine shillings of Edward VI struck only very slightly earlier than the *bungal(l)s* and revalued by Elizabeth at 4½d when they were countermarked with a portcullis. There is no evidence, however, that countermarking was official where Ireland was concerned, and to the ordinary user the 3 oz. and 6 oz. shillings were scarcely distinguishable—hence the need for countermarking. If the 6 oz. shilling did reach Ireland in any quantity, it doubtless passed with its 3 oz. brethren, not the first time that the better coin has been dragged down to the level of the worse. To be stressed is Ware's description of the coins which originally passed for shillings as 'broad'. What is required are coins with a diameter appreciably greater than that of the Edward VI 6 oz. and 3 oz. shilling, and containing roughly 44 grains of silver. There can be little doubt that the place is filled by the late testoons of Henry VIII and by those of Edward VI in Henry's name. The latest coins in this degenerating series had a theoretical weight of 120 grains and were struck 4 oz. fine, so that the silver content was intended to be 40 grains. The diameter, significantly, is roughly 1¼ inches as against the 1½ inches of the *bungal(l)s* and the portrait is not in profile but 'broad-face'. The difference of ½ inch may not seem all that much, but those who have handled the two series in any quantity will appreciate that size alone enables them to be distinguished without risk of confusion.

We may now profitably examine the Irish term that underlies the Elizabethan Anglo-Irish *bungal(l)*. As already suggested, it is early Modern Irish **bonn geal*, (cf. J. O'Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland of the Four Masters*, Dublin, 1848–1851, Vol. V. p. 1432, note b.) so that the spelling *bungall* found in Ware and Nicolson is easily explained. Unfortunately Simon does not tell us why he substituted *bungal*—was it conceivably because he had been advised that the earlier anglicization could have prompted a false etymology? Had it been suggested perhaps that the underlying Irish was **bonn gall*—'groat of the foreigners', i.e. 'foreign groat'? The etymology would not be impossible, and especially in a sixteenth-century context, though today one would expect **bonn gallda*, while the alternative

**bonn na nGall* is obviously still less satisfying. The weight of the evidence, however, is, as will appear, against **bonn gall*. Reverting to **bonn geal*, the first element is the substantive *bonn* which has a general meaning of 'coin' and more specialised meanings of 'groat' and—later and very much more rarely—'shilling'. The idea is very much one of a basic unit, a coin in general use. The second element in **bonn geal* is the adjective *geal* which has the sense of 'white' where metals are concerned. If, then, an Irish scholar unaware of the above cited passages in Ware, Nicolson and Simon were to come across the phrase **bonn geal*, his instinct would be to render it 'white groat', or possibly on reflection 'white coin'.

A parallel paper published elsewhere has sought to show that in the last years of the sixteenth century—and in the early years of the seventeenth—the term 'white groat' was in common use among the Englishry of Ireland.¹ It occurs several times in the so-called Ulster Inquisitions but without gloss, though one passage does suggest that in 1609 two 'white groats' together might be allowed to pass for a groat English, and likewise in the Desmond Survey of 1598 from the other end of Ireland. Here it is abundantly clear from the contexts that the 'white groat' was commonly valued at 1½d., which is nine to the shilling English. That this valuation was a general one emerged pretty clearly from a neglected passage in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* which was published in London in 1617 but which draws on the author's experience of nearly twenty years earlier when he campaigned against Hugh O'Neill.² The passage occurs on p. 284 of this work, and lists those Anglo-Irish coins which were still current in Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century. Moryson begins with the full-face and three-crown groats from the last third of the fifteenth century, and goes on to distinguish two classes of harp-groats, the DOMINUS issue of relatively good silver, and the REX issue which was considered notably base. His account of the groats ends as follows:—

'Also they had white groats, which were coyned for foure pence, but of such base allay, as nine of them were given for an English shilling.'

It is not difficult to show that these can only be the base harp-groats of Philip and Mary and of the first years of Elizabeth, and the omission of all mention of the minute emissions of relatively fine shillings and groats by Mary in 1553 and by Elizabeth in 1561 does not surprise the numismatist who is only too aware of the fact that these quite exceptional coins did not find their way into general circulation. The 'white groat', on the other hand, occurs in a wide range of finds,³ and it has been suggested even that the *cóta bán* of the document known as *Ceart Uí Néill* could be for **gróta bán*. *Geal* is not the only Irish word for 'white' that can be attached to a metal, cf. the *pinginne bána* of the *Annals of the Four Masters* s.a. 1545 and the Omeath usage of *bonn bán* cited by Dinneen in his *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dublin, 1927) to mean a shilling, though admittedly *geal* is the more usual adjective. It is *airgead geal*, for example, that one would use to distinguish 'silver' from 'copper' when talking of change for a note.

The English shilling cited by Moryson was the Elizabethan shilling which contained in theory 88·8 grains of pure silver. Nine of the 'white groats' should have contained in theory 108 grains of silver, so that it seems at first sight that the 'white groat' had been unduly

¹ See M. Dolley & G. Mac Niocaill, 'Some Coin-Names in *Ceart Uí Néill*', *Studia Celtica*, II (1967), pp. 119–124.

² The attention of numismatists was drawn to this work by Sir Henry Ellis more than a century

ago (*N.J.* II (1837/1838), pp. 110 & 111) but it has since been largely ignored.

³ Cf. Michael Dolley & W. A. Seaby, 'Some Unpublished Early Nineteenth-Century Irish Finds', *supra*, pp. 96–105.

written down. In practice the discrepancy would not have been so large. Low-silver alloys are notably unstable, and one may suspect that a good proportion of the alleged 3 oz. fine groats fell short of the standard. It is interesting that contemporaries alleged that the base groat of 1601 ran at '2 ounces 18 pennyweight out of the fire which is according to the standards of England 3 ounces of fine silver in the body'. Such a shortfall in itself would reduce the silver content of nine 'white groats' to 104.4 grains. Another narrowing of the gap would result from the circumstance that the English shilling of Elizabeth which came into Ireland in quantity only in the 1590s was consistently of good weight and durable. In contrast the forty-year-old 'white groats' did not wear well, and 19 specimens from at least two and probably three finds which there seems no reason to place anything like so late as the 1590s have proved to have an average weight of 41.2 grains. On this evidence nine 'white groats' would have tipped the scale at 89.6 grains, so that the simple formula of 'three white groats = one groat English' would seem very realistic as well as practical. Equally, though, one can understand the exceptional reckoning of 'two white groats = one groat English' of the 1609 Fermanagh Inquisition. The English groat should have contained 29.6 grains of silver, and two unchipped 'white groats' might possibly contain as many as 24.

Characteristic of the 3 oz. fine Anglo-Irish 'white groat' of Philip and Mary and of Elizabeth is precisely the same whitish texture and colour already observed in the case of the 3 oz. fine shilling of Edward VI which passed among the Englishry in Ireland under the name of *bungal(l)*. It seems perfectly plausible then that the name **bonn geal* should have been given by the Irish to both, and especially since the two 'denominations' were so close. The original *bungal(l)* contained, as we saw, 20 grains of silver and passed after 1561 for two-pence, the 'white groat' 12 grains of silver and for 1½d. At first sight this may seem unfair to the 'white groat', but the appreciably larger English piece does seem to have worn better in circulation. Ware, incidentally, was writing in the second quarter of the seventeenth century at the earliest, and there is no reason to suppose that the *bungal(l)*'s final devaluation in Connacht occurred before the end of the heyday of the 'white groat' proper. It is a pity that there is no Fynes Moryson to tell us what coins circulated west of the Shannon and at what valuations after the flight of the Earls in 1607, but if the plantation of Ulster finally killed the 'white groat' in the North, it does not necessarily follow that the *bungal(l)* and **bonn geal* did not linger on in the west. Indeed a proclamation of the Confederate Catholics on 15 November 1642 'inhanced' the 'white groats of Coper to 2d.' (cf. *Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, I (1849-1851), p. 452).

THE HAMMERED GOLD COINS OF CHARLES II

By HERBERT SCHNEIDER

SIMON's portrait of Charles II on the hammered coinage of 1660/62 is almost universally regarded as one of the greatest artistic achievements in English numismatics. It is therefore surprising that his coins have received so little attention whereas we have an unusually complete literature on Thomas Simon himself and the other engravers who worked at the Tower during the period under review.¹ For the matter of that the historical and technical data of the coinage were recorded more than once. Since Ruding² the evidence was reviewed in a most competent manner by Sir John Craig³ and more recently by Mr. H. G. Stride⁴ who has gone over the subject again with such a fine comb that there is hardly anything to be added.

The evidence contained in the Mint Record Books proved most important and they are clearly a source of information which numismatists have not always sufficiently explored in the past. Indeed, without Mr. Stride's paper certain portions of my research work could only have been conducted against a background of dangerously incomplete facts and figures, and the invaluable collaboration I received from Mr. G. P. Dyer of the Royal Mint for which I am more grateful than I can say, has made it possible to obtain a really coherent general picture.

When one considers the importance of the information supplied by Mr. Dyer one begins to appreciate how fatal the destruction of the old Mint Record Books prior to the reign of Charles II really was. In the year 1661 they were deposited in the Muniment Room of the Tower where they were eaten by rats,⁵ and one can hardly bear to think of the shocking loss English numismatics suffered.

If we are well documented on the technical and historical background of the coinage of Charles II very little was published on the hammered gold series since Kenyon's book *Gold Coins of England* in 1884, and he made no attempt at recording the varieties in greater detail. Colonel Morrieson⁶ was clearly not concerned with these issues. Henry Webb's⁷ and T. H. B. Graham's papers on the hammered silver coins⁸ are out of date by modern standards of numismatic research and throw hardly any light on the gold series. Dr. G. Brooke in his *English Coins* published no more than a general record of the coins under review and Dr. Ernest Carter dealt only with the pattern broads.⁹

The view is apparently held in an almost traditional manner that the hammered coinage of Charles II is rather a barren field for research and presents no problems. However, as is so often the case, a closer inspection brings to the surface a number of interesting and perhaps significant anomalies for the student of dies, of the frequency of their use, their links, their ratios and their production figures, which are well worth examining. For we can do this against a background of documentary evidence more complete than anything we possess for any other English hammered coinage at any time.

¹ Hocking, Helen Farquhar, Vertue, Symonds, Forrer, Derek Allen, Whetmore.

² *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, Vol. II, pp. 1-21.

³ *The Mint*, Chapter IX.

⁴ *BNJ* XXVIII, pp. 386-393.

⁵ *The Mint*, p. 156.

⁶ *BNJ* XV, p. 119.

⁷ *NC*, New Series, Vol. XIX.

⁸ *NC*, Fourth Series, Vol. XI, 1910/11.

⁹ *BNJ* XX, p. 207.

I will go quickly over known ground again, for the information on the hammered gold coins of Charles II was supplied by so many different authors that it would be useful to condense it for the purpose of providing a suitable structure for this paper.

The constitution of the Tower mint during the period of the hammered coinage of Charles II was as follows:

Mint Master: 1660/62 Sir Ralph Freeman

1662 Henry Slingsby, appointed in July 1662

Mint Wardens: Sir William Parkhurst and Sir Anthony St. Leger

Chief Engraver: Thomas Rawlins

King's Engraver and Medallist: Thomas Rawlins and after May 31st, 1661, Thomas Simon.

When Charles II became king on May 29th, 1660, Thomas Simon who had been chief engraver during the Cromwellian regime was in charge at the Tower. Charles II, however, considered himself bound by his father's warrant of April 1645 issued following the death of the chief engraver Edward Greene in 1644. Although Charles I had, at that time, lost control over the Tower mint establishment, he had appointed Rawlins chief engraver 'in the Tower of London and elsewhere in England and Wales'.¹ A warrant drafted in June 1660 and addressed to the Mint Wardens includes an order to

'cause Thomas Rawlins, our Graver, to grave and cause to be engraved all such irons with our Effigies Titles and Inscriptions according to such directions and commands as you shall receive from us.'

This document has come down to us as a draft which bears no signature, seal or date, and Mr. Henry Symonds² was quite right in suggesting that it does not constitute a valid legal instrument. However, considering the evidence of the Calendar of Treasury Books 1660/7 and the Early Entry Book I there can be no doubt that the warrant was actually issued on June 11th, 1660.

Why this order to Rawlins was never carried out and practically identical instructions given to Thomas Simon on August 4th, 1660, is unknown. However, within the scope of this paper we are not concerned with the anomaly of Rawlins' position at the Tower but with the authorship of the design for the coins under review. That this is Simon's work has never been seriously questioned and all possible doubt was removed when Mr. Derek Allen published the sketches of Thomas Simon.³ Actually, Simon's position in the Royal Mint was unorthodox and not clearly defined for quite some time. The former 'Chiefe Engraver of Mynte and Seales' during the Commonwealth rule was clearly not *persona grata* with many of the senior mint officials after the restoration. Had his technical skill and experience not been absolutely vital for the preparation of the king's new coinage, Simon might well have been dismissed there and then. As it was, his services could not be dispensed with, but one feels that he was granted the office of 'one of the engravers of the king's arms, shields and stamps' on May 31st, 1661, solely to regularize a state of affairs which had existed for ten months, and that he was appointed to 'succeed Nicolas Briot, defunct' because no other qualified engraver was available to execute the duties of the King's Medallist.

The latter warrant is no doubt responsible for the old contention that Simon had held the position of chief engraver jointly with Rawlins.⁴ This mistake has, of course, long been

¹ *BNJ* XXVIII, p. 332.

² *NC*, 1913, p. 374.

³ *BNJ* XXIII, pp. 439-448.

⁴ *BNJ* V, p. 226.

corrected on more occasions than one, but old traditions die hard and this seems to be one of them. Considering that Briot had never been chief engraver himself, the patent refers only to the appointment of Engraver and Medallist to the King. For Simon alone provided the designs for the hammered coinage of Charles II, and he would perhaps not have been consulted on the subject of the portraiture of Charles II's mill coinage of at all after the return of Blondeau and the arrival of the Roettier family in England in the year 1662 had he not possessed certain established rights to 'make and frame the first designs and effigies of the King's image'. The outcome of the contest of skill between Simon and Jean Roettier appears to have been a foregone conclusion to such a point that one wonders why it was held at all, but this was perhaps necessary in order to satisfy the legal requirements of Simon's appointment at the Tower.

Two important events in English numismatics cast their shadow forward, and over the hammered coinage of Charles II: the demonetization of the Commonwealth money and a change from the hammer to the minting press. In a way the hammered coins of Charles II are no more than a very temporary stop-gap, and their outstanding artistic qualities are therefore all the more surprising.

Let us deal with the question of demonetization first. The king was obviously not prepared to use the existing Commonwealth dies until new irons for a coinage with his name and portrait could be made. Therefore the Tower had to face a problem which had not existed since the 15th century and which was much thornier than during the Wars of the Roses. Neither Henry VI nor Edward IV nor Henry VII had at any time contemplated withdrawing the coins of their predecessors and they had been solely interested, for reasons of prestige, to issue their own as soon as possible. This had been a question of altering the king's name on a few dies and, since the basic design of the coins did not change, the available punches made it possible to sink dies for a new coinage without delay. When Charles II was restored, however, the Tower had to cater for portrait coins, and apart from the enigmatic Rawlins no engraver other than Simon was qualified to cut the punches.

To dwell on the reasons of Charles II's anxiety to see his own coins in circulation would be futile: they are obvious. But the king was not always very reasonable in regard to the unavoidable delay before the Royal Mint could be expected to strike coins. Irritated perhaps by the fact that his order to Rawlins for the new coinage had yielded no tangible result and two months been lost, the king referred in an ill-tempered order bearing the date of August 18th, 1660, to the 'great public inconvenience and damage that ariseth from the standing still of the Mint and the occasion of it being alleiged to be that Mr. Symonds had not yet fitted the Stamps and Tools'. This was such a ridiculous charge considering that Simon had only been allowed two weeks to work on the master punches for the new coinage that it appears to have had an adverse effect. For Simon could only arrive at two logical conclusions: either the king was quite determined to be unfair to a former 'Cromwellian' or he was almost incredibly ignorant of the problems the chief engraver had to face when called upon to prepare the irons for a new portrait coinage. In the latter case it seems obvious that the senior mint officials had, in bad faith, laid the responsibility for the delay at Simon's door. Master Thomas way well have thought that, since he was being blamed for the 'standing still of the Mint' in any case, nothing could do greater harm to a man in his exposed position than to produce a hurriedly designed set of irons and a mediocre portrait of a king whom even Antoine Van Dijck would have found difficult to flatter.

A month later, 18th September 1660, the king issued an even more impatient order to Simon personally, instructing him to 'forbeare all other services'—presumably the graving of the Great Seal—for setting the Mint presently at worke'. It took nevertheless another two months before the Tower was actually 'at worke' and it is interesting to see how the supply of gold bullion dwindled rapidly soon after striking began. In October 1660 an amount of 100 lb. 4 oz. 10 dwt. 19 gr. was brought to the Royal Mint and on November 6th 1660 the moneyers delivered 90 lb. 8½ oz. of coins. No gold was brought to the Tower during the month of November, but 15 lb. 4 oz. 15 dwt. 15 gr. of gold bullion was received in the mint during December 1660 and the moneyers delivered 19 lb. 7 oz. 7½ dwt. in coined gold on December 10 of that year, some of which was obviously struck from bullion left over from the October supplies. During January 1661¹ only 5 lb. 11 oz. 16 dwt. 7 gr. of bullion arrived in the mint and on February 5th 1661 gold coins weighing 9 lb. 9 oz. 12½ dwt. were delivered by the moneyers. This represented virtually the entire amount of gold supplied to the Tower for coining because the difference of roughly 1 lb. 8 oz. between the amount of gold brought to the mint and the weight of coins delivered by the moneyers seems a plausible figure for scissel.

It was certainly not Simon's fault and not due to a deficiency of dies if no gold bullion was coined in the Tower between January and August 1661. The reason for this is to be found in the valuation of the gold coins which had become out of date, and it was blatantly obvious that the price had to be raised. One wonders why the necessary adjustment was not better timed, for the anomaly created inevitably a deadlock at the Tower so far as the output of gold currency was concerned—and a deadlock the king could ill afford at that time.

It was perhaps for reasons of prestige that Charles II was anxious to maintain the monetary standards of the Cromwellian regime and therefore reluctant to issue an inflationary proclamation quite so soon after the restoration.² On the other hand, the general public—and more particularly the City merchants and bankers—were clearly not prepared to run any risks and kept their coins so long as the modalities of the adjustment were in doubt and so long as there was the danger of being issued with new coins of lighter weight in exchange for the old currency.

The king was therefore facing a vicious circle until August 26th, 1661, when he issued a proclamation and raised the value of the contemporary unites in circulation from 20/- to 21/4. The old gold coins of James I were accordingly revalued as follows:

Unite	formerly	22/-	now	23/6
Double Crown		11/-		11/9
Britain Crown		5/6		5/10½

As we shall see, this monetary adjustment of the gold coins led to confusion among students of the hammered coinage of Charles II, and it is really important to stress the fact that the weight of the coins—contrary perhaps to what the public had expected—remained absolutely unchanged. But the unite of Charles II ceased to be a 20/- piece: it was issued at 21/4.

A little gold was now brought into the Tower for coining. Very little. For 79 lb. of gold bullion was a drop in the ocean, and it is rather interesting to see that no gold was delivered

¹ In order to avoid confusion I have adjusted the dates to our present calendar and not used those shown in the Mint Records. For it goes without saying that 'January 1661' by our standards formed part of the year 1660 in the Mint Record Books.

² Although this would not have been a devaluation of the currency in the accepted sense of the word. Only the gold coins were over-valued and it would have been solely a question of remedying an inevitable and almost traditional anomaly of a bi-metallic coinage.

to the Royal Mint at all during the month of September 1661, and a negligible amount (less than 7 lb.) in October. Afterwards, no gold whatsoever was received at the mint for coining until February, 1662, and this seems to substantiate the view that the City was still more than reluctant to part with gold and afraid of an issue of lighter coins. For the contention that the Tower could not strike fast and that merchants and bankers had not been prepared to leave their bullion on deposit for any length of time is hardly consistent with the mint records. Between the end of August and the beginning of September, 1661, the Royal Mint must have coined nearly 77 lb. of gold within a week, and this is all the more remarkable because the evidence contained in the Mint Record Books points strongly toward melting down of the scissel, and the coins minted from it were no doubt included in the output figures which appear to cover the period of 26th or 27th August to 3rd September, 1661. As it were, 'the scissel of the scissel' was presumably confined to the melting pot again, so prodigious was the demand for new gold coins, for the almost ridiculously small delivery of only 1 lb. 8½ oz. by the moneyers on 9th September, 1661, can hardly be explained otherwise.

It was nevertheless against this background of extreme caution, suspicion and fear of a general currency reform which would produce lighter coins that the king, in a proclamation dated September 7th, 1661, ordered all Commonwealth coins to be handed in for exchange against new money before the end of November. This was clearly an impossible order and on November 28th the Commons were informed that the king had accepted the advice of his Privy Council and authorized payments with Commonwealth coins until March 25th, 1662. The official proclamation relating to this concession was only issued on December 7th, 1661, and this extended the delay for the demonetization even further and fixed the date of May 1st, 1662. However, on fourth thoughts, as it were, the king decided to reverse steam and on January 16th, 1662, the Commons were informed that 'his majesty having (to gratify that House) enlarged the time for accepting the late coin in payment to his majesty from the 1st of March¹ till the 1st of May, had received information from several officers of the exchequer and mint, that it would be a great loss and prejudice, and very mischievous to his majesty, and of advantage only to some private persons, who had engrossed and bought up the said coin; and therefore he was advised to recal his proclamation and confine the making the said coin passable in payments to his majesty to the 1st of March only'.

Although it would appear that the extension of the date of exchange to May 1st, 1662, had originally been authorized following a representation from the Commons to the king, the obedient House came to heel, 'returned humble thanks to his majesty' and declared itself to be 'fully satisfied with the reasons for reducing the time of accepting the late coin in payments to his majesty'. As Sir John Craig pointed out quite correctly² it was for the first time that the exchequer offered the full nominal value for old coins so long as they 'did not want more in weight than the remedies' and no charge was made for the cost of the recoinage which amounted to 5½%.

In accordance with the king's message to the House of Commons of January 16th, 1662, referred to above, a proclamation issued on January 23rd, 1662, revoked the previous order of December 7th, 1661. The public did not take the slightest notice of it, for the king's debts were so great and so urgent that an all-embracing devaluation—and not only an adjustment

¹ As we have seen, the original order had actually stipulated March 25th and not March 1st.

² *The Mint*, p. 157.

of the value of the gold coins—constituted a very tangible financial risk. To retain the admittedly ugly but honest 'breaches' gold coins was clearly the lesser of two evils, for whether the Commonwealth money was 'accepted in payments to the king' or not was of little practical importance. No royal proclamation could change the intrinsic value of the coins struck under the Lord Protector's authority, and if the general public appears to have been reluctant to offer them to the Royal Mint for exchange it was not for love of Cromwell but for fear of devaluation.

During the year 1662 713 lb. of gold bullion was brought to the Tower but no gold coins were struck before March. Between February 24th and 27th, 1662,¹ the Army Paymaster Fox was ordered to deliver to the mint some 167 lb. of gold for coining into 20/- pieces 'by way of the Presse and Screw'. No more than about half of this amount (82 lb.) was actually minted into mill 'broads', as these attractive 20 shilling pieces were subsequently called. On April 8th, 1662, the king ordered the remaining scissel representing roughly 85 lb. of gold to be coined with the hammer into 20/- and 10/- pieces, and that the coins should bear a mark of value 'for plaine distinction sake'.² Simon's dies, it was stated, had 'proved insufficient'³ so that there was no alternative but to revert to the old minting methods which Mr. Graham rather harshly described as 'that relic of barbarism, the hammer'.⁴

The old contention that no gold coins of Charles II with the numerals behind the bust could possibly have been struck before May 17th, 1662,⁵ seems to be still very widely accepted, but it is totally inconsistent with the evidence. One can easily explain how the confusion occurred, particularly if we consider that, generally speaking, the unites and double crowns of Type II are smaller than the corresponding Type I coins but struck on a somewhat thicker flan. The erroneous statement that the Type II series of Charles II are lighter than the Type I issue was made by several students. The mistake seems to go back to the days of Kenyon⁶ who presumably misinterpreted Ruding and wrote that the unites with numerals behind the king's head were struck at the reduced weight of 131^{29/41} grains as against 140^{20/41} grains for the earlier variety without a mark of value. Colonel Morrieson repeated the mistake,⁷ Miss Farquhar gave it further currency⁸ and it is almost incredible that the error was not exploded in the scales of the British Museum. Dr. Brooke dealt with the hammered coinage of Charles II in a very summary manner⁹ and we find no reference to the weight of the coins at all. Since then, Sir John Craig¹⁰ and Mr. Stride¹¹ have published the documentary evidence in a perfectly accurate manner and this tallies completely with Ruding's earlier record.¹²

¹ Recorded as forming part of the year 1661 in the Mint Records, of course.

² Orders to the effect that a mark of value was to be punched on the dies were already given on November 24th, 1661. As we have seen, however, no gold was struck between the end of October 1661 and the beginning of March 1662. In these circumstances it was probably considered advisable to repeat the instructions which had hitherto applied to silver coins only.

³ The breakage was presumably too high, owing to faulty operations or incorrectly adjusted engines.

⁴ *NC*, Fourth Series, Vol. XI, p. 68.

⁵ The royal warrant dated May 17th 1662 is of purely academic interest. It provided for an issue of mill coins with a golden twenty shilling piece reduced in weight to the actual value of 20/- and the other denominations in proportion. Therefore

the twenty shilling piece would have had a weight of 131^{29/41} grains. However, this royal warrant was only approved in Council on August 27th 1663 and at that time no gold was available for minting. The striking of gold coins was not resumed until December 1663 when a further slight reduction of weight was ordered. The weight of the new mill 20/- piece which we now call 'guinea' was 129^{39/89} grains, and unites of twenty shillings weighing 131^{29/41} grains were never struck at any time.

⁶ *Gold Coins of England*, p. 169.

⁷ *BNJ* XV, p. 128.

⁸ *BNJ* XX, p. 224.

⁹ *English Coins*, p. 226.

¹⁰ *The Mint*, p. 157.

¹¹ *BNJ* XXVIII, pp. 386-393.

¹² *Annals of the Coinage*, Vol. 2, p. 5.

It is rather interesting to compare the speed of the hammer with that of the coining presses. As we have seen, within roughly 5 weeks¹ the Royal Mint had coined only 82 lb. of gold into 3,362 twenty shilling pieces. On the other hand and notwithstanding the fact that the remaining scissel of the mill gold coinage had to go back into the melting pot and new flans be prepared, 85 lb. of gold was coined 'by way of the hammer' between April 8 and April 19 1662 and an appreciably greater number of coins was struck, for the hammered issue included 10/- pieces.

The last hammered gold coins were struck in October, 1662. Supplies of gold bullion ceased in September, 1662, and no minted gold was delivered by the moneyers after October 18th, 1662, until the first mill 'guineas' were struck in December, 1663.

In the pyx trial of July 9th, 1663, which covered the minting period from July 20th, 1660, to the day of the trial, unites, double crowns and Britain crowns were tested and they represented £52 in coined money.² Among the coins should have been 5 or 6 'broads' of the small mill coinage of March/April, 1662, as well as Roettier's guinea pieces, but the mill gold was excluded from this pyx trial. The guineas of 1663 were, of course, of lighter weight and perhaps dealt with separately to avoid confusion, but since Simon's mill 'broads' were of the same weight and fineness as the hammered unites, one wonders why they were not tried together. Strangely enough, there was no mill gold in the pyx trial of July 4th, 1664, either. This covered the coin output from July 9th, 1663, to the day of the trial and there should have been guinea pieces in the pyx chest since much more than a journey of gold was coined during that period. However, since we are not concerned with the mill coins of Charles II I will not dwell on the anomaly that his 'broads' appear only at the trial of the pyx held on August 4th, 1669, together with other mill gold coins.

It would be futile, I think, to go over the confusing evidence of the figures quoted in Pepys' Diary³ once more. Miss Farquhar has done this in a competent manner⁴ and it is quite evident that Pepys' account is based on hearsay and not on official records. Notwithstanding Miss Farquhar, however, Snelling's figures for the hammered coinage of Charles II are quite accurate in respect of the gold bullion coined from the beginning of Charles II's reign to the end of the year 1663.⁵ They are as follows:

1660:	110 lb. 3 oz. 12 dwt. 12 gr.	1662:	713 lb. 1 oz. 3 dwt.
1661:	95 lb. 1 oz. 17 dwt. 12 gr.	1663:	27 lb. 8 oz.

The production for 1663 is of academic interest only since no hammered coins were struck during that year and we are solely concerned with some 918 lb. of gold bullion which must be subdivided for the purpose of this paper as shown below:

		<i>Hammered Coinage</i>	<i>Mill Coinage</i>
Nov./Dec.	1660	110 lb.	
Aug./Oct.	1661	95 lb.	
Mar./Apr.	1662		82 lb.
Apr.	1662	85 lb.	
Apr./Oct.	1662	546 lb.	
		836 lb.	+ 82 lb. = 918 lb.

¹ It is technically inconceivable that minting of the gold bullion which Fox had delivered to the Tower should have started straight away considering the preparations which were required for a mill coinage. On this subject cf. Sir John Craig's *The Mint*, pp. 161/62.

² Cf. Henry Symonds 'The Pyx Trials of the Commonwealth, Charles II and James II', *NC*, Fourth Series, Vol. XV (1915), p. 346/7.

³ Vol. ii, p. 348/9.

⁴ *BNJ*, Vol. XIII, p. 119/20.

⁵ *View of the Gold Coinage of England*, p. 36.

If we review the pyx return of July 9th, 1663, in this light, we arrive at a perfectly satisfactory result. At the rate of one coin to a journey of 15 lb. of gold, the bullion figure would be some 780 lb. The discrepancy between this and the actual amount of 836 lb. minted is not disturbing, particularly not if we take 'broken journeys' in 1660, 1661 and 1662 into consideration. Alarming, however, is the almost unbelievable number of dies required to strike no more than 836 lb. of gold.

The question of die ratios and of coin production figures per pair of dies is being investigated but has not yet been fathomed. It is liable to be much more intricate than appeared at first sight and it presents the student as well as the Society with new problems. Some of the 'back-room-work' of research must be published and die duplicates be recorded which, until now, had been regarded as insignificant. To do this in a manner which will not involve the Society in exorbitant expense nor, indeed, render the student's paper very tiresome to read demands new methods of presenting a paper. As an economist I have almost instinctively resorted to charts and I hope they will meet the requirements of the 'Cambridge School'.

It seems plausible to assume, I think, that a greater number of dies than the Tower really needed were cut for the first gold issue of 1660/61. This was no doubt done in anticipation of a much more substantial quantity of bullion to be coined than the parcels which were actually brought to the mint. If we consider the evidence of my charts¹ and the fact that dies were apparently given a practical test on the striking benches, it seems fairly certain that many of them were just tried out but not worn when they were discarded. For we are not only up against highly disturbing figures for the output of coins per pair of dies, but the die ratios for the three denominations vary in an intriguing manner.

At the rate of £41 of coined money to the pound troy of gold, 836 lb. of bullion produced some £34,276 in unites, double crowns and Britain crowns at face value. If we establish the production figures of the dies on the basis of purely theoretic calculations and take into account that a set² of unite dies is alleged to have struck 10/12,000, a set of double crown dies about 20,000 and a set of Britain crown dies some 35,000 specimens³ we would expect to find about 2 sets of unite dies, 1 set of double crown dies and 1 set of Britain crown dies. Actually, however, I have recorded 17 sets for the unites, 5 sets for the double crown and 4 sets for the Britain crowns which should, in theory, have been capable of coining not 836 but over 6,200 lb. of bullion.

The critical reader will no doubt raise objections to the purely academic manner in which these figures were arrived at. Rightly so, for I have not allowed for an element of premature breakage of dies nor have I catered for the fact that all the unite and double crown dies of Type I were apparently discarded in 1661 and entirely new sets used for the Type II

¹ Charts 3-6 and 9-12.

² I am using the term 'set' in the meaning of one obverse die and the number of reverse dies—usually more than one—indicated by the prevailing die ratio for the denomination.

³ 10/12,000 coins for a set of dies is the usually accepted output figure for noble dies which are of about the same size, and I have taken the lower figure of 10,000. According to the Royal Mint, a pair of angel dies of Charles I struck approximately 20/22,000 specimens and this would obviously apply to the double crowns of Charles II as well. The figure of 35,000 Britain crowns per set of dies is based on practical research experience in the Stuart series and is conservative. However, it could only

be established in relation to unite and double crown dies, and this is a fact I would like to stress. For, in my opinion, the output figures which have hitherto been advanced for the dies of the various denominations of coins are too high but this is no more than a personal impression which cannot be substantiated and with which only Mr. Albert Baldwin seems to be in agreement. I have often wondered, though, on what really irrefutable evidence the 'generally accepted figures for the output of dies' are actually based for the Stuart series. We can arrive at an approximation for some of the medieval silver issues, but no reliable records of punches and dies seem to have come down to us relating to 17th century gold coins.

variety. However, it is not irrelevant to establish the figures for the hammered coinage of Charles II along theoretical lines. For this was done in a few cases for coinages of the more distant past where documentary evidence is often hopelessly incomplete, where reigns overlap on the bullion tables, where the output of coins is not conveniently accounted for in mint records and where dates of privy marks are in doubt. As we have seen, the difference between the result of die research and all theoretic calculations is simply hair-raising for the hammered gold coinage of Charles II if we consider the number of dies in relation to the amount of bullion minted. This may not apply—or at any rate not to the same extent—to other periods and reigns, but the margin of error is nevertheless liable to be terrifying.

It is obvious, of course, that the figures for Type I and Type II of the hammered coinage of Charles II must be scrutinized separately. Anomalies for Type II are to be expected, for it is inconceivable that the Tower had no serviceable dies left when the coining press superseded the hammer. The Type I issue of coins, however, seemed at first sight an ideal field for research and I studied this series with as much enthusiasm as I recorded the evidence of the angel dies of Charles I.¹ For, in both cases, we know exactly when minting began and when it ended, we know the amount of bullion coined, and there is a complete absence of mules with the previous reign. In both cases, however, I have met with anomalies which distort the die output figures—and possibly also the die ratios—to such an extent that the results seem highly disappointing. For we cannot accept as an even vaguely possible production figure an average of some 800 unites for a set of dies, and it is perhaps worth demonstrating the magnitude of the anomaly by establishing the figures for the double crowns. At the rate of £41 of minted gold per troy pound of bullion, 836 lb. represent 68,552 double crowns. I have recorded 5 obverse and 11 reverse dies for the hammered gold coinage of Charles II and a set of 10/- dies of this period is said to have been capable of striking 20/22,000 coins. Therefore, it should have been possible to strike appreciably more coins from the 5 sets of double crown dies alone than the total amount of bullion coined during the entire coinage even if we make a generous allowance for premature breakage.

I feel nevertheless that my research work has not been completely futile. I had to break away from normal routine and investigate not only the die links but also the life of dies and the use of die combinations in relation to the number of coins examined.² Since this has never been done before in the same manner, I can only submit to the Society an isolated record which must be scrutinized with a great deal of circumspection. It remains indeed to be seen whether the evidence of small coinages such as the angels of Charles I or the issue of hammered gold coins of Charles II is at all relevant for die ratios and coin output-figures per set of dies. Only a multitude of records such as mine can produce a coherent pattern, but this would be so well worth knowing that I thought the first—and perhaps dangerous—step in this direction had to be made. At this stage, my charts seem to prove only one important fact: any theoretic calculations based on what are still largely assumed coin-output figures per set of dies are highly speculative and liable to be misleading for a small coinage. For larger issues, the anomalies which exist for every reign and every striking period will perhaps distort the figures to a lesser—and in some cases to an almost negligible—extent,

¹ *BNJ*, Vol. XXX, p. 302.

² My record of the hammered gold coins of Charles II is obviously incomplete since I had no access to a considerable number of specimens in private hands. It constitutes nevertheless a fairly

sound basis, I think, for we do not have to allow for the inevitable survival distortions caused by treasure trove. The absence in hoards of the coins under review is conspicuous.

but we still have to fathom the margin of error. We may well find that it differs considerably as centuries went by and as minting practices changed.

One can demonstrate this point by studying a portion of the hammered gold coinage of Charles II. Had it been unknown how much bullion was minted during the Type I striking period, one would have arrived at a figure over 13 times higher than the amount of gold actually struck, if calculations had been based on the number of dies recorded. For we find 8 sets of unite dies (8 obverses and 10 reverses), 2 sets of double crown dies (2 obverses and 5 reverses) and 3 sets of Britain crown dies (3 obverses and 3 reverses). Allowing for premature breakage, they should, in theory, have produced approximately £115,000 of minted money or roughly 2,800 lb. of bullion. In actual fact, however, only 205 lb. of gold was coined between November, 1660, and October, 1661.

If we take the bullion figure as a criterion, seemingly logical conclusions would have been equally wrong. Having in mind 205 lb. of minted gold for the Type I issue of coins, a student could have taken the view that it was pointless to extend research beyond the trays of the British Museum, for the die varieties represented in the National Collection fully satisfy the requirements for striking the amount of bullion involved. There are 2 sets of unite dies (2 obverses and 3 reverses) 2 sets of double crown dies (2 obverses and 3 reverses) and 2 sets of Britain crown dies (2 obverses and 2 reverses), so that a very generous element of premature breakage of coining irons can be allowed for and the fact taken into account that serviceable dies were condemned when the Type II issue of gold coins began in April, 1662. How logical—but how wrong—such a student would have been!

We have, I think, no right to assume anything in regard to coin-output figures of dies at this stage of research. We must establish them and see where they lead us. I am entirely prepared to admit that the series I examined yielded unexpected anomalies in the domain of coin production, so that the evidence submitted is of little help. But even a failure to arrive at plausible figures can be significant and instructive, especially if the failure is as complete as mine. For not only the calculations for coin-output per set of dies produced impossible results. The survival ratio of the Type I and Type II issues varies in an astonishing manner for no apparent reason. The comparative rarity of dies is as inconsistent with logical mathematics as the comparative rarity of coins. Die ratios are irregular. The wholesale scrapping of serviceable dies is a surprising practice at the Tower, and nothing seems to be orthodox in this coinage which appeared to be such an open book that it never attracted the attention of students. The idea of an 'open book' in numismatics is a regrettable fallacy, and students of hammered coins would be well advised to read Mr. C. W. Peck's outstanding *BMC* of the English copper coinage and learn their lesson. If one takes the trouble to go right back to the roots of the coinage—and this applies to hammered and mill coins alike—there is so much hidden between the covers of 'the open book' that the old approach to numismatics which considered identification and chronological classification as an end in itself and the only problem worth studying becomes whimsical and completely out of date.

Considering the amount of bullion minted during the short-lived hammered coinage of Charles II—205 lb. for Type I without the numerals behind the king's head, and 631 lb. for the Type II issue which bears the mark of value—one would expect to find about three Type II dies for every Type I die. Actually, however, I recorded:

	Type I	Type II
Unite obverse dies	8	9
Unite reverse dies	10	18

	Type I	Type II
Double crown obverse dies	2	3
Double crown reverse dies	5	5
Britain crown obverse dies	3	2 ¹
Britain crown reverse dies	3	1 ²

In theory, one would have expected and could have explained a much greater anomaly for the Type II dies than for those of Type I and it is certainly surprising to find the opposite. We may well encounter similar surprises in other series and other reigns and must, I think, accept the fact that one cannot simply feed the known elements into an electronic brain and obtain reliable approximations of coin-output figures in relation to sets of dies by pushing a button. There are too many imponderabilia, particularly for a small coinage. Here is a practical example:

As I mentioned before, a set of double crown dies is supposed to have struck some 20/22,000 coins. It probably did—in some cases. But dies can be compared with a car designed for a life of 100,000 miles on the roads. However, it becomes often unserviceable long before it reaches this mileage because of accidents, of frequent changes of drivers, of varying quality of maintenance and different conditions of climate and road surfaces. We have the same element of accidents and of frequent changes of workmen so far as dies are concerned. What maintenance is to a car is cleaning and, if need be, skilful recutting of the dies, and good or bad road surfaces can be compared with good or bad finish and equilibrium of the upper die. It is perhaps not completely irrelevant to mention in this connection that the statistical records of the transportation division of my firm irritated me on more than one occasion. Identical tyres of identical lorries carrying the same loads on the same roads cannot be relied upon to do even approximately the same mileage. In extreme cases the difference exceeds 45% and, since we keep a fairly close check on tyre maintenance and pressure, this is predominantly due to the manner in which lorries are driven. Much the same is liable to apply to the individual striking technique of the Tower workman, and die-output figures may well be influenced by varying experience and skill to a spectacular extent. Even if the number of coins a set of dies should normally have minted were firmly established, the number it actually produced during any given striking period would be difficult to assess and I doubt if we can arrive at reliable averages by theoretic calculations only. Here and there we have accurate information on the subject of punches made or of dies delivered which place such calculations on a fairly solid basis.³ But this is unfortunately the exception to the rule and it cannot be taken for granted that even well-established die-output figures for certain denominations of coins and minting periods can be blindly applied to the English hammered coinage *in toto*.

It has often been stated that dies were never wasted in the Tower mint because the master had a personal interest to use them to full capacity. Generally speaking, I believe this to be true, although there are cases where the complete absence of mules even between prolific issues of coins indicate that at least a certain number of serviceable dies were apparently scrapped at times, and in such cases we are inevitably up against complicated problems in regard to die-output figures. For we cannot even hazard a guess how many more coins the dies could have struck when they were discarded. I have often wondered, though, whether

¹ One of which also used during the Type I minting period.

² Also used during the Type I minting period.

³ Cf. excellent attempts at analysing medieval die-output by Ian Stewart, published in *NC*, Seventh Series, Vol. III, 1963 and Vol. IV, 1964.

mint practices in regard to the economy of dies should not be divided into periods before and after November, 1626. I am not suggesting that dies were deliberately wasted when a different system of remuneration was introduced in the beginning of Charles I's reign and the mint masters received a straight-forward salary. However, since they ceased to be personally interested in minting profits after 1626, they may have been less reluctant to condemn serviceable dies when it was perhaps convenient but not absolutely necessary.

The die ratios¹ vary, but we must bear in mind that premature breakage of a die or two for small denominations with a considerable coin-output potential within a small issue can distort ratios out of all proportions. We can therefore, I think, dismiss as accidental the unorthodox ratio of 4 obverse and 3 reverse dies for the Britain crowns. This is no more alarming than the spectacular ratio of 5 obverse and 2 reverse dies during the reign of Charles I for Briot's mill double crowns of 1631/3 as against a die ratio of 1:1 for the corresponding Briot unites² and an anomaly one has to take in one's stride in the case of a very small coinage.

On the other hand, the evidence of coin survival is absolutely baffling. This is noteworthy because it constitutes so important an element within the scope of research work such as this, and the basis of so many calculations. Whatever anomalies we could expect—and partly explain—in the hammered gold series of Charles II so far as the dies are concerned, there is absolutely no logical explanation for the fact that the Type I issue has come down to us in appreciably greater numbers than the Type II coins.³ This applies to all denominations and can clearly not be assigned to the accidental composition of hoards.⁴

The following record shows the astonishing discrepancy between the evidence of the coins and the 1:3 ratio (205 lb.: 631 lb.) of minted bullion for Type I and Type II.

<i>Type I</i> (205 lb.)		
Unites recorded	48	} representing in coined money at face value £63 5s. 0d.
Double crowns recorded	19	
Britain crowns recorded	23	
(average coin survival for Type I: 7.52%).		

If we apply the same criteria to the Type II issue, I should have been able to record unites, double crowns and Britain crowns totalling a nominal value close to the theoretic figure of £189-15-0. Actually, however, it reaches less than 44% of this amount, and the evidence for the 1662 issue of hammered gold coins is as follows:

<i>Type II</i> (631 lb.)		
Unites recorded	62	} representing in coined money at face value £83 5s. 0d.
Double crowns recorded	36	
Britain crowns recorded	13	
(average coin survival for Type II: 3.22%).		

It may be argued that only the available evidence was recorded and a margin of error must be allowed for. This is, of course, admitted, but since I used the same sources the same margin of error applies everywhere and it does not really affect the true issue. It only affects

¹ Cf. General Chart, pp. 154/5.

³ Cf. General Chart, pp. 154/5.

² Cf. *BNJ* Vol. XXIX, pp. 114/5 and Vol. XXVIII, p. 379

⁴ Cf. p. 130, footnote 2.

the comparative rarity of denominations which is perhaps not quite accurately reflected in my lists because I had to confine my research work to coins which went through my hands or could be recorded from the plates of sale catalogues. Double crowns and Britain crowns of Charles II are not common and most of them appear to have found their way into the trays of museums or of major private collections which are almost invariably illustrated when they come into the Room. In these circumstances I could include the overwhelming majority of 5/- and 10/- pieces in my statistical charts, but the record of Type I and Type II unites is inevitably less complete. These appear not infrequently in miscellaneous sales, but in the absence of illustrations it is impossible to establish on how many occasions the same coin was offered for sale as time went by. Much the same applies obviously to the dealers' stock cards. In this connection I would like to place on record my most sincere thanks to the three leading London dealers for their collaboration, and I am particularly grateful to Mr. Peter Seaby for communicating to me a record of Charles II hammered gold coins offered for sale in the Rooms over a considerable number of years. I had myself covered a different period, and the evidence compiled by Seaby's proved most interesting and valuable. For it substantiated the result of my own research work, and without confirmation from another source I would have been somewhat reluctant to assert that sale catalogues are by no means a satisfactory source of information so far as coin-survival ratios and the comparative rarity of denominations are concerned. The presence or absence of major sales during any given period is liable to distort research results to a dangerous degree. For example: between 1940 and 1950 few really important collections came under the hammer. Between 1950 and 1960, however, we have seen the most spectacular sales since the days of Montagu and Murdoch. If these two periods of ten years are recorded separately we arrive at totally different figures of rarity and this applies to all but very common coins.

The dealers' all-round knowledge and experience constitutes, as it were, a numismatic mirror which reflects survival ratios and the comparative rarity of coins in a manner which must be regarded as the best approximation. Quite independently, Spink's and Baldwin's suggested virtually identical figures and they are so close to my own estimates that it may be useful to place them on record.¹ For I am very conscious of the major weakness of this paper: the vast majority of coins in private hands could not be recorded but many of them went no doubt through one of the Rooms at one time or the other. It is impossible to hazard even a guess to what extent they would affect the evidence of my charts, and it is perhaps permitted to appeal once more to collectors for collaboration. Some collectors—perhaps many—are apparently taking the view that the study of die ratios and die-output figures is a wild goose chase which will lead nowhere and add nothing to our present knowledge of numismatics. Let it be openly admitted that they could be right and that the case of the 'Cambridge School' is not proven beyond any possible doubt. It could not be. For here is a new approach to a variety of problems relating not only to the coinage of England but to numismatics in general, and collectors should give the students an opportunity to investigate where it actually leads us. They—and they alone—can help to reduce the margin of error which is terrifying in some cases. My own task was a fairly easy one, for I was concerned with a small coinage and comparatively rare denominations. But if more prolific issues be examined in the same manner and the probability theory applied, the element of coin survival ratios—in other words the weight and the number of coins recorded in relation to the amount of bullion minted—becomes of paramount importance. This, in turn, must be correctly interpreted

¹ Cf. General Chart, pp. 154/5.

against the possibly confusing background of treasure trove¹ and we have to remember that the number of unites, double crowns and Britain crowns minted out of a troy pound of bullion is unknown. The proportions were unfortunately never recorded in the pyx trials, documentary evidence on this subject has only come down to us in exceptional cases² and we must establish approximate figures on the strength of practical research experience alone.

Actually, it seems improbable that a really hard-and-fast rule for the ratio in which denominations were minted was ever adhered to if we consider the frequent complaints about the scarcity of small coins recorded in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*. From the point of view of the mint master it was obviously more profitable to strike nobles, angels or unites rather than their fractions, and discrepancies in the ratios are liable to have increased and affected gold and silver series alike ever since coins of the same value were struck in both metals.

The Oxford issues of Charles I are, of course, an extreme case owing to political circumstances. Oxford was the only mint establishment under royal control which struck an appreciable amount of gold during the Civil War, but only a very few double crowns and no gold crowns at all were coined at New Inn Hall. University colleges and aristocratic mansions had provided the Oxford mint with such large quantities of silver plate that even highly inconvenient pound and half-pound pieces were minted in silver. Coining of 5/- crowns in gold was clearly redundant.

I would have refrained from commenting on the admittedly unusual Oxford coinage of 1642/6 could it be regarded as an exceptional anomaly solely due to the Civil War. Actually, however, similar anomalies exist in ever-varying degrees well beyond the range of the Stuart coinages. More often than not they were the consequence of foreign trade and grew more important—and more baffling to the numismatist—ever since England became a colonial power with irregular arrivals of gold and silver bullion from sources sometimes other than normal trade.

Not only major political upheavals such as a civil war created anomalies in the ratios in which denominations were minted. Much less memorable events influenced the output of coins at the Tower mint, and this was certainly true on the occasion of the sale of Dunkirk. After the Battle of the Dunes in June, 1658, which had been predominantly fought between English royalist contingents in the Spanish army under the command of the Duke of York³ and Cromwell's invincible red-coated veterans led by General Lockhart on the French side, Dunkirk had become a British possession. A possession, however, which was of no practical value to England and a costly citadel to hold. Considering Charles II's totally inadequate income to meet his huge debts and commitments he was seemingly in a much greater hurry to sell Dunkirk to France than Louis XIV appeared to have been anxious to redeem it. In 1662 negotiations came to a successful conclusion, and the French payment for the ransom of Dunkirk was received at the Tower in December of that year. Considering the amount of money involved, it is surprising that the French paid in large silver coins only.⁴

¹ If someone wanted to hide £50 today he would take £10 and £5 rather than 10/- notes to reduce volume. Exactly the same applies to hoards. Although all denominations are usually represented we find nevertheless a predominance of nobles rather than quarter-nobles, groats rather than farthings and unites rather than Britain crowns.

² For example in respect of the number of fine

sovereigns to be struck from each pound of gold during the reign of Henry VII.

³ Later James II.

⁴ 1,500,000 French coins which were melted down and yielded £336,773 in minted English currency—almost exactly ten times the total value of gold bullion struck during the entire hammered coinage of Charles II.

It is conjectural but plausible to assume that the arrival of the French payment for the surrender of Dunkirk cast its shadow forward. For it seems highly probable that the Tower reduced the minting of Britain crowns drastically during the only important striking period (April/October, 1662) of the gold coinage under review. A substantial amount of French silver was due to be delivered to the Royal Mint, and since gold was scarce, it was clearly reasonable to produce unites and double crowns rather than the small gold crowns which were still by no means popular coins in daily use.¹ Britain crowns could be quite conveniently replaced by silver pieces and it may be significant that no mill silver coins of Charles II bearing the date 1662 other than crown pieces have come down to us. They were struck in fair numbers—perhaps to make up for the deficiency of 5/- pieces in gold. The explanation why the ratio of Britain crowns minted in relation to unites and double crowns differs appreciably between Type I and Type II is perhaps as simple as that. Actually, it is quite possible that the much greater production ratio of Type II double crowns compared to the Type I issue is due to the fact that bullion which would have been reserved for coining Britain crowns in normal circumstances was used for double crowns instead.

The reader may well think I set out to prove the 'Cambridge School' *ad absurdum*. Nothing could be more erroneous, for Cambridge was persistently on my mind when I compiled the notes for this paper. If I have dealt at great length with the complexity of the problems to be tackled before we can even begin to establish figures for die-output, die ratios and proportions for the production of denominations of coins for any given amount of bullion at any time, it was only to show the intricacy of elements which affect all calculations and the magnitude of margins of error. Cambridge is by no means aiming at something impossible, but an enormous volume of work lies ahead if we endeavour to throw new light from new angles upon numismatics. One fact—and a really important fact—has been proven beyond doubt in my opinion: we shall never be able to fathom the considerable importance of coins in archaeology, history and economic science unless we abandon the amateurish approach to numismatics. The collector has unquestionably legitimate rights to demand chronological classifications and convenient references for his coins, and this request is perfectly consistent with scientific research. Actually, it is a practical necessity, but only the alpha, not the omega, of numismatics. For many 'pure collectors' the work is done when coins have been identified and adequately indexed in the chronological order of issue. For the student it only begins at this stage. In my case it cannot go much beyond the proverbial 'first tottering beginning', and I am fully aware of the fact that at least some of the figures I suggested in my General Chart may well have to be re-assessed in the light of further evidence not at present available. I have no other comments to make on my General Chart except in connection with the discrepancy of the coin-output figures per set of dies between Type I and Type II to which I have already referred above.² For someone in Simon's position it must have been foreseeable after the failure of the first mill coinage in March 1662 that the Tower would not be ready to strike mill coins on a large scale before the end of the year 1662, but Simon could not possibly cater for the fact that only 713 lb. of gold would be brought to the mint during 1662, and that

¹ I am more than reluctant to suggest an approximate purchasing power of a 5/- piece of Charles II expressed in our present money. It was obviously that of several pounds Sterling, but prices recorded in mid-17th century statistics are often irrelevant. They are affected by modern methods of mass-production and more particularly by taxation in varying degrees nowadays so that no all-round

figure can be established. It may nevertheless be of interest to mention that a Britain Crown of Charles II bought, at the time, about half a sheep, or 30 lb. of cheese, or 4 chickens, or over 13 lb. of butter or the truly impressive quantity of 24 gallons of small beer.

² See pp. 129/30.

supplies would cease completely in October of that year, particularly if we consider the demonetization order for the Commonwealth coins. In these circumstances it would not be surprising if he had cut an abnormally large number of dies for the hammered gold coins of Type II in relation to the amount of bullion minted. For many dies are liable to have been in perfectly serviceable condition when they were discarded at the beginning of the mill coinage in December 1663.

So far as the Type II dies of the hammered gold series of Charles II are concerned, anomalies of coin production can therefore be explained. It is all the more disconcerting to find that the die-output figures for Type II are not nearly as low as those of Type I. This is certainly not what we would have expected, and the anomaly is noteworthy. One can no more explain it than it was possible to account for the different survival ratios of the Type I and Type II gold issues, and we have no reason to assume that 'illogical discrepancies' such as these are exclusively confined to the hammered gold coinage of Charles II. This is a disturbing fact to be remembered in numismatic research whenever an attempt at establishing figures along purely theoretic lines is made. There are—or there may be—imponderabilia which cannot even be incorporated in probability calculations and which are completely outside the scope of logic and mathematics. They exist but constitute an element we cannot fully fathom. Only practical experience will perhaps show, in due course, what importance must be assigned to the unknown quantities which escape assessment.

THE COINS

TYPE I

NOVEMBER 1660–OCTOBER 1661

Unites:

I have divided the coins into three classes on account of the portrait varieties. The Class I bust is certainly Simon's finest artistic effort and differs in several minor details from subsequent designs. The relief of the unites is comparatively high, the large laurel wreath has berries and the prominent leaves protruding well beyond the king's hair form a pointed tip. The tie has a loop and two ends, and the bust truncation is frosted. This portrait which is a little broader than the later bust varieties appears to occur on one die only (O1, Plate X).

Class II can perhaps be described as the 'standard bust' of Type I. (O2–O6, Plate X). The relief of the coins is somewhat lower, the tie has two ends but no loop and the bust truncation is not frosted.¹ The laurel wreath is smaller with a less prominently pointed tip of leaves and has no berries. The exception to the rule is the O6 die which—strangely enough—has the berries which must otherwise be regarded as an early feature. However, the colon punctuation of O6 shows the true position of the coin and provides the link with Class III.

Class III is really much more closely related to Type II than Type I so far as the aspect of the coins is concerned, for we find exactly the same flat relief portrait on the same smaller flan with the same smaller lettering, the same thin laurel wreath without berries and the same

¹ The latter feature seems to have no special significance: frosted bust truncations occur on most Type II unite dies as well.

short leaves which hardly extend beyond the king's hair. (O7–O8, Plate X). The coins are distinctly rare—rare enough for the erroneous contention to be widespread that the reduction in the size of the coins took place only when the minting of the Type II unites began in April 1662. The evidence of Class III is confined to only five coins from two obverse and two reverse dies, referred to above. Of these, O7/R9 is particularly interesting because it shows the evolution towards a unite of smaller diameter. The only specimen I have been able to record came from the collection of the late Mr. Virgil Brand of Chicago. It was struck from the new die variety of reduced size with the flat bust and small letters, but the old, large flan was still used. The other four coins struck from O8/R10 are of exactly the same smaller size as the Type II unites, and why these dies appear to have been condemned in April 1662 remains a puzzle.

The reverse dies of Type I require no further comment since I have already referred to the change of lettering at the end of this striking period. The varieties are of a technical nature only and seem to have no special significance. At the initial stage of my research work I had hoped to arrive at a chronological approximation for the dies more accurate than that indicated by the die links, but a closer study of the crown, the crown band varieties, the punches of the Irish harp, the Scottish lion and the fleur de lis yielded many differences of execution but no coherent and significant pattern of their use.

It is, of course, obvious that the numbering of dies in my statistical records¹ is no more than one of many mathematical possibilities and their chronological order is interchangeable in several cases. Actually, it is rather fortunate that the margin of error in the sequence of issues is small to the point of being negligible from a historical and numismatic point of view so far as the hammered gold coins of Charles II are concerned. For the Royal Mint records² constitute rather alarming evidence. Considering the abundance of dies on the one hand and the innumerable interruptions in the bullion supplies on the other, the Tower minted small parcels of gold at irregular intervals. In these circumstances we cannot even be certain that coins struck from the same pair of dies are absolutely contemporary. Actually if it were possible to establish beyond doubt not only the chronological order in which coining irons were cut but also the order in which they were released to the Tower striking benches, we would still be at a loss to identify the striking period to which the individual coin belongs.

This may sound bewildering and mystifying so that a practical example is perhaps welcome. As we have seen³ about 100 lb. of bullion was brought to the Tower for coining in October 1660, and some 90 lb. of minted gold was delivered by the moneyers on November 6th, 1660. By the standards of the hammered gold coinage of Charles II this was a large parcel of bullion—almost half the entire amount minted during the Type I striking period—and since coins had to be produced at top speed⁴ it can be taken for granted that several sets of dies were used simultaneously. The suggestion that O1, O2, O3 and R1, R2, R3, R4 and R5 were released for minting is conservative, for O2/R3 were recorded from a single coin and the chances are that these two dies met with an accident and had to be condemned soon after they were issued. If this is accepted, coins from O1/R1, O1/R2, O1/R4, O2/R3, O3/R4 and O3/R5 are contemporary.⁵ It goes without saying, of course, that some or all these dies were presumably used once more to mint the scissel and roughly 21 lb. of additional bullion brought to the Tower during December 1660 and January 1661. Subsequently, supplies ceased until August

¹ Charts, p. 150/3.

² See pp. 148/9.

³ See p. 125 above.

⁴ Cf. p. 125 above.

⁵ Cf. chart 7, p. 162.

1661 when about 80 lb. were received at the Tower. Except perhaps for O2 and R3 to which I have already referred and possibly also R1¹ we have no reason to assume that the dies previously used had become unserviceable. In these circumstances we cannot possibly know whether any given unite from O1/R4 was struck before or after a specimen from O3/R4 because there are no means of establishing whether the coin belongs to the minting period of October-November 1660 or to that of August-September 1661, not even if it so happens that a die developed defects or cracks. For the gradual deterioration of the dies indicates the chronological order but they cannot be conclusively dated unless we have an unusually complete chain of die links. This is by no means a problem exclusively confined to the coinage under review. It applies whenever arrivals of bullion at the Tower became irregular and we cannot place coins into watertight compartments. It must be admitted and appreciated that there are limitations so far as the chronological position of coins is concerned.

I have recorded no legend varieties for the unites of Charles II. They have the inscription CAROLVS II D G MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB REX. Actually, we find the same legend on the double crowns as well all through the hammered coinage of the reign and only the Britain crowns have a legend variety on the obverse. The reverse of all the coins under review reads FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA, but the punctuation differs sometimes.² One feels, however, that the presence or the absence of a pellet at the beginning or the end of the reverse legend has no special significance, but the punctuation varieties on the obverse are useful chronological pointers. Without the temporary use of colon stops one would have been probably wrong about the correct place of the O6 die of Type I, and in doubt so far as the earliest Type II unites are concerned. Actually, before I discovered O1 of Type II, I had made an entirely different—but seemingly entirely logical and possible—arrangement for the chronological order of the Type II unite dies.

Whether the punctuation variants can be regarded as privy marking in the accepted sense of the word is, of course, rather debatable: the introduction of the numerals behind the king's head happens to divide the hammered gold coinage of Charles II into periods of about one year for Type I and 8 months for Type II, and this alone provided a convenient mark for pyx purposes.

Double crowns:

Class I. This tallies in every respect with the corresponding unites and all the typical features are repeated: a heavy laurel wreath with berries, and leaves protruding well beyond the king's hair. The tie has a loop and two ends, the bust truncation is frosted and large letter punches were used for the legend. (Plate XII)

Class II. This is very similar to the corresponding unites as well, but strangely enough, the size of the flan was already slightly reduced at this stage of the double crown coinage of Type I. The somewhat thinner laurel wreath has no berries and the leaves protrude hardly beyond the king's hair. The tie has two ends but no loop and the truncation of the slightly smaller bust is plain. The large lettering remains unchanged. (Plate XII)

Class III is unknown and was probably not struck

The difference between the general aspect of the Class II double crowns of Type I and the Type II coins is not nearly as striking as is the case for the corresponding unites, for the king's portrait was not re-designed.

¹ Cf. chart 4, p. 159.

² Cf. die lists, pp. 150, 152.

Britain crowns:

Class I. It is solely on account of the tie with loop and two ends which fastens the king's hair at the back of the head that I have placed the O1 die into this class, for this is a typical early feature which is also found on the corresponding unites and double crowns. Otherwise the coins do not differ from the Class II variety. There are no berries in the laurel wreath and the bust truncation shows no trace of frosting on any Britain crowns of Charles II. The obverse legend reads CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX. (Plate XIII)

Class II. This tallies with the corresponding design of the larger denominations and the tie in the king's hair has only two ends and no loop. The laurel wreath, however, is identical with that of the Class I coins: it protrudes well beyond the king's head and its leaves form a pointed tip. Legend and punctuation remain unchanged. (Plate XIII)

Dr. Ernest Carter claimed to have a specimen of this variety with an entirely different and unique portrait of Charles II and seems to have held the view that this had been a short-lived and unsuccessful experiment. I am illustrating this coin as a matter of curiosity¹ but a careful check discloses beyond doubt that the 'portrait variety' is a myth and no more than an interesting freak struck from the O2 die. There are many others in this series, and Dr. Carter's coin is not the only example of dangerously misleading effects of double striking. I have illustrated two unite obverses from the same O3 die of Type I.² One of the coins, however, reads quite plainly HIBB instead of HIB as a result of double striking, and it is uncanny how the rest of the legend remained almost undisturbed.

Class III. In contradistinction to the unites, the king's portrait remained unchanged but the small lettering appears now on both sides of the coins. Legend and punctuation change as well, and we find CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HI · REX. The colon stops and the smaller letters link the Britain crowns of Class III quite closely to the corresponding unites, and it is rather surprising that these features seem to have been adopted on the double crowns only at the very beginning of the Type II series.

TYPE II

APRIL—OCTOBER 1662

There are many minor varieties of execution and some of the punches differ, but we have no real break in style so far as the unite and double crown series are concerned. As we shall see, the Britain crowns are a law unto themselves and a direct continuation of the Type I issue. All denominations have their mark of value behind the king's head.

Unites:

It would be futile, I think, to place the Type II unites into more than two classes. The portrait, lettering and legend of the Type II unites is in every respect identical with those of Type I, Class III. The punctuation however reverts to the usual CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX on the obverse with one noteworthy exception to the rule. This is O1 and of particular interest if we consider the colon stops.³ I was somewhat reluctant to separate coins with an O1 obverse from the other unites of Type II since portrait

¹ Plate XIII, 3.² Plate X, 3 and 4.³ Plate XI.

and lettering are the same. However, the punctuation places O1 to such an extent on a plane of its own and links up with Type I Class III that it seems justified to treat it as a separate entity. It has an equivalent in the double crown series of Type II.

We find no punctuation varieties on the reverse of the Type II unites other than a missing pellet before FLORENT. Since this occurs on three different dies the omission is perhaps deliberate. If my experimental chart of die links¹ is more or less accurate, the dies happen to belong to much the same striking period. However, one is instinctively reluctant to assign more than an administrative importance to so isolated a form of privy marking.

As the illustrations show, there are several varieties in the execution of punches, particularly for the French fleurs de lis and the Scottish lion. The irons for the crown on the reverse of the coins were less carefully cut than before and the jewelling of the crown band varies considerably. Actually, the reverse crown of the Type II unites appears to be somewhat loftier than that of the corresponding Type I coins, but this is largely an optical illusion. The cross in the centre and the lis to right and left of it are noticeably smaller, and this creates the erroneous impression of a higher reverse crown. (Plate XI)

Double Crowns:

The smaller lettering appears on the coins now but there is virtually no change so far as portraiture is concerned. The execution of the irons is perhaps somewhat coarser and less elaborate. (Plate XII)

The Class I coins tally exactly with the corresponding unites, and if double crowns of Type I, Class III, were struck they are liable to have the same features and colon punctuation. I have recorded only one obverse die (O1) which has a minute mint mark Crown, used perhaps for no reason other than lack of space between the beginning and the end of the obverse legend.

For the Class II double crowns we find two obverse dies one of which (O2) has a slightly frosted bust truncation and the leaves of the laurel wreath form a pointed tip rather more prominent than on the other two dies of the Type II double crowns. This feature occurs on some of the later unites of Type II, Class II, as well.

Britain crowns:

Considering the severely reduced output of Britain crowns—for reasons I attempted to explain above—no new reverse dies were cut at all and we find only one true obverse die of Type II.² This is similar to the corresponding larger denominations so far as portraiture is concerned but has a rather thinner laurel wreath with leaves which do not form a pointed tip above the king's hair. However, the old legend CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX appears again so that the die must be regarded as a somewhat puzzling half-way-house between Type I and Type II. The only other obverse die recorded is in fact the former O2 of Type I to which the numerals behind the king's head were added. Only one reverse die

¹ Cf. Chart 13.

² The word 'true' should perhaps be qualified in this case. It is the only 'true' Britain crown obverse die of Type II insofar as there is no evidence that it was ever used during the Type I minting period. However, considering its style and the large lettering it is not impossible that this die was actually cut well before April 1662 and constituted a reserve for breakage. It would have been extremely easy to adapt it to the requirements of the Type II issue

by punching the mark of value into it. Alternatively, however, the large lettering was perhaps exceptionally used after March 1662 on a new obverse die to match the letter punches with those of the only reverse die of all the Type II Britain crowns which had an extremely long life and provides, together with the O2 die of the Type I double crowns, the best and most valid evidence against my belief that the hitherto accepted average output figures per pair of dies are too high.

appears to have been used in the Britain crown series of Type II, and this was an inheritance from the Type I striking period (R1). The overwhelming majority of Britain crowns of the hammered gold coinage of Charles II were struck from it.

The size of the Type II Britain crowns does not differ from the earlier issue and it is only here that we find a continuation of the use of Type I dies which we would have expected for the unites and double crowns as well. For, as we have seen, the reduction in the diameter of the coins took place before the end of the Type I minting period.

Within the scope of my research work on the dies of this coinage, I have not taken the probability theory into consideration. The number of extant coins and of recorded dies is below the minimum which allows its application except perhaps for the unites of Type II where we have a borderline case. We find 9 sets of dies (9 obverse and 18 reverse dies), but since I recorded 62 coins, the requirements of the probability theory are fulfilled. I would however ask the reader to study my charts of the Type II unites dies.¹ We have admittedly an average of much more than three coins per pair of dies so that my record should be complete by the standards of the probability theory. But the majority of dies was recorded from one or two specimens only so that it would be wise to allow for the existence of unpublished dies. I firmly believe that the probability theory will prove to be of considerable value and importance for numismatic research. In quite a few cases we can only suggest figures and not arrive at definite approximation. This is inevitable in our field of studies, but approximation should not be pure guess-work and it is essential to remain on a solid scientific basis—such as the probability theory—whenever the required elements are known. However, mathematics should not be used indiscriminately and may yield distorted and misleading figures considering imponderabilia one cannot account for. In these circumstances I feel the probability theory should only be applied with a great deal of circumspection and against a fully fathomed background of the evidence of coins and dies.

Were I called upon to express a personal opinion on the subject of the submitted evidence relating to the hammered gold coinage of Charles II I would say that, all elements and anomalies considered, my record of the Britain crowns is almost certainly complete, and I have probably listed all the double crown dies but possibly not all the die links and combinations. So far as the unites are concerned, there is some little room for unpublished dies and a much greater margin of error for omission of die combinations, particularly in the Type II series.

THE DIE LINKS

If I have departed from the orthodox method of presenting my record of the die links in the form of a chain and used a herring-bone column instead² it was for the purpose of demonstrating the considerable overlap in the use of coining irons. Actually, I have often wondered whether the traditional but somewhat misleading drawings of a 'chain of die links' should not be abandoned. Not that 'the chain' is wrong: it is a perfectly acceptable statistical record but it has chronological shortcomings and there can be no doubt that it created erroneous impressions. For it goes without saying that there was no 'chain' whenever a large amount of bullion was minted and several pair of dies used simultaneously. The true graphic picture is closer to a bunch of grapes than a chain, but no statistical chart is really quite flexible enough to cater for the ever-varying use of dies at different times.

¹ Cf. Charts 9 and 10.

² Cf. Charts 7 and 13.

It is nevertheless not without a modicum of hesitation that I submit for study charts of the unite die links for Type I and Type II which are conjectural.¹ Here I placed the reverse dies into different columns in an attempt at arriving at a closer graphical approximation of the manner in which dies were used and their chronological place in the coinage. The expression 'chronological place' rather than 'chronological order' is deliberate, for the order in which dies were issued is not necessarily identical with their use. Even at the risk of exploring a new alley which may well prove to be a *cul de sac*, an investigation of mint practices relating to the use of coining irons seems to be well worth while.

Prima facie, it would appear that reverse dies did not, as a rule, 'travel' freely and indiscriminately between obverse dies, and one must not be misled by die links, or the logical use of reverse dies with more than one obverse die owing to breakage, cleaning, recutting or repair. Even the 5 die links of an exceptionally long-lived unite reverse die² may have been normal 'marriages'. For it is perfectly possible that R1 of Type II was returned to the Tower workshops for maintenance after having outlived O1, O2 and perhaps even O3. Several obverse and reverse dies show clear signs of cleaning and touching up,³ and their temporary absence from the striking benches is bound to disturb orderly patterns of die links.⁴ After having been retained in the workshop for repair, R1 may well have been assigned to O4 after R4 and R5 had become unserviceable. O4 did not last much longer and R1 was subsequently given to the long-lived O7 die. This is admittedly conjectural but, I think, within the limits of legitimate speculation.

There is nevertheless some evidence that, at times, reverse dies 'travelled' between several obverse dies. R1 and R2 of the Type I double crowns appear to have been switched between O1 and O2, and R13, R14 and R15 of the Type II unites between O7 and O9. There are, of course, alternatives. Obverse dies may have been used concurrently with more than one reverse die. Actually, the evidence of the die links is almost overwhelming that R13, R14 and R15 were used simultaneously with both O7 and O9 and that they 'travelled' between these two obverse dies.

It would, however, be premature to draw conclusions before the facts are really firmly established and before we know how to interpret them. Additional evidence and confirmation from other reigns and from series more prolific than the hammered gold coinage of Charles II is obviously required. The die links of the double crowns of Type I point admittedly towards 'travelling' of reverse dies or their simultaneous use with the same obverse die but, if we turn to the all-important chart of the use of die combinations, we notice that the 'disturbing' die combinations O2/R1 and O2/R2 are only known from single specimens. They could be odd survivals from striking tests, for O1 and O2 of the Type I double crowns are clearly contemporary and R1 and R2 could have been originally tested with O2 but been subsequently assigned to O1. For the matter of that, the entire evidence of 'travelling' and of concurrent use of more than one reverse die with the same obverse die is debatable considering our ignorance in regard to the Tower practices relating to the repair and maintenance of dies. Was there a proper maintenance routine at the Tower and were dies called in for cleaning and checking at regular intervals after having struck a certain number

¹ Charts 7 and 13 (experimental).

² R1 of Type II, cf. Chart 13.

³ Cf. for example the reverses of H. A. Parsons, Lot 608 at Sotheby's on 31 October 1929, and of Dr. D. Heath, Lot 94 at Glendining's on 9 September

1937.

⁴ On this subject cf. C. A. Whitton's admirable paper on the sovereigns of Henry VIII, *BNJ* XXVI, pp. 67/74.

of journeys of bullion? This seems improbable but not impossible. How long were dies retained in the workshops for repair and maintenance, on average? Was there an average at all? Were sets of obverse and reverse dies returned to the Tower workshops or were dies touched up and repaired individually? If so, was the coining iron invariably assigned to the same die with which it was used before when the workshop sent it back to the striking benches? Was this a rule? Were there exceptions?

One could obviously continue such questions almost *ad infinitum*. I am only anxious to demonstrate how many answers have to be supplied and how much research work must be done before we can reach approximations which will allow us to apply uncompromising mathematics to coins with an acceptable margin of error. For the seemingly widespread belief that one can always tell from the evidence of the coins when a die was withdrawn from the striking benches for repair is totally erroneous. It is not only that we can never be certain how many stages of repair cannot be accounted for considering the low survival figures for hammered coins, but the very idea that we should always be capable of detecting repair to reverse dies is wrong. More often than not, reverse dies were probably returned to the workshops because of damage to the steel rod which took the punishment of the hammer, and we shall never be able to ascertain when a die was repaired unless the engraved portion of it required recutting.

My record of the die links is obviously not complete. Here and there, a die in my experimental charts may have to be moved from one column to another considering the evidence of die-combinations at present unknown, but I doubt if the general picture would be disturbed to a really appreciable extent.

FREQUENCY OF THE USE OF DIES

We have to expect unusual but not necessarily irrelevant figures for a coinage such as this. For we have obviously no mules, and, as we have seen, there are no die links between the Type I and Type II varieties of the hammered gold coinage of Charles II except for the Britain crowns. We must therefore allow for a wholesale scrapping of dies at the end of the Type I issue and again after the month of October 1662. My record should be studied in this light. (Charts 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12)

FREQUENCY OF THE USE OF DIE COMBINATIONS

This is a subject to which little attention has been paid so far, but it is a vital element which must be taken into consideration. Particularly in a case like this where we find disturbing discrepancies which may be significant and for which we have, as yet, no explanation. Pure mathematics are too rigid, and too one-sided to be blindly applied to numismatics without comments and certain reservations, considering the unpredictable human element which plays so important a part in our hammered coinage. Die ratios and die-production figures should be more than a barren statistical record; they must be correctly interpreted against the background of the evidence provided by the use of dies and of die combinations.

It would perhaps be wise not to dwell at great length on the use of dies for the smaller gold denominations, since they were struck in insufficient numbers to constitute an ideal field

for research work. We must, however, deal with the unites and the fact that the evidence for the Type I and Type II series differs in a disturbing manner.

Students who are prepared to endorse the generally accepted view that a pair of unite dies must have struck, on average, at least 10,000 coins and probably more will be satisfied to see that over 58% of the recorded Type I unites¹ were struck from the same obverse die, and over 43%² from the same reverse die. Moreover, considering that we have 8 obverse and 10 reverse dies, yielding 13 die combinations, it is surprising that almost 42% of the recorded coin evidence³ was struck from the same pair of dies.

For the unites of Type II, I recorded 9 obverse and 18 reverse dies which produced no less than 29 different die combinations. One obverse die had a very long life and 37% of the coins⁴ were struck from it. But there is no comparable reverse die. The bullion minted was much more evenly spread over a great number of reverse coining irons, and only two of them yielded just over 14.5% each of the recorded coins.⁵ The frequency of the use of die combinations shows, in fact, a picture difficult to reconcile with that of the Type I unites. Only one combination of dies struck some 11% of the total figure of recorded coins, compared with about 42% of the earlier issue. (Charts 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12)

Nothing really tallies in this apparently very simple and remarkably well documented hammered gold coinage of Charles II. Die ratios differ. Die-production figures seem utterly absurd, and not only is the number of dies used to coin a small amount of bullion almost unbelievable, but the discrepancy in the survival ratios of Type I and Type II coins is baffling and cannot be explained. The pattern of die combinations for the Type I issue can hardly be reconciled with that of Type II. All theoretic calculations are totally incompatible with the research evidence, and this leaves the door wide open to speculation. It must be remembered, however, that I ploughed up in depth no more than a very small field and the result of my research work cannot be generalized. For it is not by coastal fishing that one can fathom the secrets of the ocean, and only a much larger pool of evidence compiled along similar lines and a considerably greater knowledge of minting practices and of die-breakage ratios will perhaps enable us one day to obtain a coherent picture and to account for many anomalies which cannot, as yet, be explained. At the time of writing, I am not even certain that this is a first step in the right direction, but I feel very strongly that the step had to be taken.

COIN EVIDENCE

I consulted the following sources of information in the course of my research work:

Public Collections:

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
British Museum, London
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Hunterian Museum, Glasgow
Royal Mint Museum, London

Private Collections:

R. D. Beresford-Jones, Esq., M.A.
The late E. C. Carter, Esq., M.D.
Alderman H. Hird, M.A., F.S.A.
The late K. Readhead, Esq.
Frederick Willis, Esq.
B. Pybus, Esq.
The author's collection.

¹ 28 coins out of 48

² 21 unites out of 48.

³ 20 unites out of a total of 48.

⁴ 23 unites out of 62.

⁵ 9 out of a total of 62.

Dealers:

(Stock, Trade Papers, Sale Catalogues)
 A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd., London
 Hess & Leu, Lucerne and Zurich
 Münzen & Medaillen A. G., Basel
 H. M. F. Schulman, New York.
 Jacques Schulman, Amsterdam
 B. A. Seaby, Ltd., London
 Spink & Son, Ltd., London

Sale Rooms:

Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd.
 Glendining & Co., Ltd.
 Sotheby & Co.

Illustrated Sale Catalogues of Private Collections:

L. A. Basmadjeff (Glend. 15-7-53), V. Brand (H. & L. 14/16-10-64), L. E. Bruun (Soth. 22-5-25), Marquess of Bute (Soth. 11-6-51), R. T. Cassel (Glend. 4-12-24), W. Cunningham (Glend. 1-2-51), G. C. Drabble (Glend. 4-7-39), Lady Duveen (Glend. 29-9-64), Miss H. L. Farquhar (Glend. 25-4-55), E. Fletcher (Glend. 13-12-37), Foreign Collector (Soth. 7-4-30), R. M. Foster (Soth. 3-11-03), E. H. Goulburn (Chris. 27-11-62), H. P. Hall (Glend. 27-7-50), W. M. H. Hall (Glend. 3-10-63), G. Hamilton-Smith (Glend. 23-5-27), D. Heath (Glend. 9-9-37), H. Hird (Glend. 30-5-61 and 9-12-64), R. C. Lockett (Glend. 17-10-56), D. Mitchell (Glend. 27-4-49), J. E. Moon (Soth. 7-5-01), H. Montagu (Soth. 19-11-90), J. G. Murdoch (Soth. 11-6-03), North Country Collector (Glend. 23-5-39), J. O'Byrne (Chris. 14-5-62), H. O. O'Hagan (Soth. 19-12-07), H. A. Parsons (Soth. 31-10-29 and Glend. 11-5-54), Sir A. Prevost (Glend. 22-1-19), J. C. S. Rashleigh (Glend. 10-6-53), W. Raymond (Glend. 16-5-62), W. L. Raynes (Glend. 16-2-50), V. J. E. Ryan (Glend. 30-6-50), W. W. Sanderson (Glend. 16-5-62), Lord St. Oswald (Glend. 13-10-64), A. Thellussen (Soth. 19-10-31), A. von Thilau (J. Schulm. 30-3-60), W. B. Thorpe (Glend. 25-11-21), Sir K. Vaughan Morgan (Soth. 17-6-35), C. A. Watters (Glend. 23-5-17), E. Wertheimer (Glend. 24-1-45), R. D. Wills (Glend. 6-12-38).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Since the die numbers are indicated on the plates, it would be pointless to list the illustrations, but a few comments seem indicated:

PLATE X

Obverses and Reverses of Type I Unites.

For the illustration of O3(HIIB) *cf.* p. 140

O6 and R8 are Crown copyright (*cf.* footnote (1), p. 147)

PLATE XI

Obverses and Reverses of Type II Unites

O5 is illustrated in the Bruun sale catalogue (Sotheby's, 22/5/1925, lot No. 816).

O8 is illustrated in the Hilton Price sale catalogue (Sotheby's, 18/5/1909, lot No. 256).

R9 is illustrated in the Cunningham sale catalogue (Glendining's, 31/1/1951, lot No. 386).

R10 is Crown copyright. (1).

PLATE XII

*Reverses of Type II Unites.**Obverses and Reverses of Type I and Type II Double Crowns.*

R3 of double crown Type I is illustrated in the Hird sale catalogue (Glendining's, 30/5/1961, lot No. 99).

PLATE XIII

*Obverses and Reverses of Type I and Type II Britain Crowns.**Type I*

O1 is Crown copyright (1)

O2(ECC) cf. p. 140

Type II

R1 of Type I is identical with R1 of Type II.

O2 of Type I is identical with O1 of Type II
which has the mark of value V added.

(1) Coins in the collection of the Royal Mint Museum. They are Crown copyright, and the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office has very kindly granted permission to illustrate them. In this connexion I wish to express my gratitude to the Director of Publications and to Mr. G. P. Dyer of the Royal Mint for their collaboration, as well as to the keeper of the National Collection of Coins, Mr. G. K. Jenkins, and Mr. K. A. Howes of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, who made it possible to produce the illustrations referred to above from plaster casts.

Footnote to p. 149.

The Editors have asked me to comment on the discrepancy between the mint-output figures quoted in this paper and the amount of coined bullion delivered by the moneyers.

On the strength of overwhelming documentary evidence, a little over 713 lb. of bullion was coined during the minting period of March/October 1662. This is perfectly consistent with some 715 lb. brought to the Tower (cf. p. 148) if we allow for a small amount of scissel. It will be found, however, that only 663 lb. of coins were delivered by the moneyers during the same period (cf. p. 149), although they must have had about 2 lb. of scissel in hand from the minting period of 1660/1661. We have a difference of 50 lb. between arrivals of bullion and delivery of coins which constitutes an impossible amount for scissel. It seems therefore obvious that the Tower record of coins delivered by the moneyers is not quite accurate in respect of the period April/October 1662. An item of delivery must have been omitted, or figures inverted, or a 9 misread for a 4, probably during the month of July 1662.

In this connexion, another anomaly is worth mentioning. As we have seen (cf. p. 127 above) the Army paymaster Fox delivered 167 lb. to the Tower in February 1662. The evidence that the bullion was coined into 82 lb. of mill broads and 85 lb. of hammered coins cannot be questioned. And yet, the delivery figures of the moneyers indicate a total of over 172½ lb. for March/April 1662. It is tempting to suggest that the moneyers struck not only the existing scissel of about 2 lb. referred to above but also a small portion of the paymaster's bullion 'by way of the hammer' before the minting presses were ready to operate, and that the amount of bullion so used was subsequently made up from the parcel of 7 lb. of gold brought to the Tower in March 1662.

THE AMOUNT OF GOLD BULLION BROUGHT TO THE MINT FOR COINING
FROM OCTOBER 1660 TO DECEMBER 1663

TYPE I

<i>Month</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>ozs.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>	<i>gr.</i>
October 1660	100	4	10	19
December 1660	15	4	15	15
January 1661	5	11	16	7
August 1661	79	0	13	5
October 1661	6	10	5	0

TYPE II

February 1662	167	4	9	12
March 1662	7	0	15	4
April 1662		4	12	4
May 1662	35	5	17	18
June 1662	168	2	10	10
July 1662	249	7	8	14
August 1662	23	4	17	18
September 1662	63	9	16	15

MILL COINAGE

December 1663	101	8	16	6
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THE AMOUNT OF GOLD DELIVERED BY THE MONEYS FROM NOVEMBER
1660 TO DECEMBER 1663

TYPE I

<i>Date</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>ozs.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>	<i>gr.</i>
6th November 1660	90	8	5	0
10th December 1660	19	7	7	12
5th February 1661	9	9	12	12
3rd September 1661	76	10	10	0
9th September 1661	1	8	15	0
14th October 1661	6	10	0	0

TYPE II

25th March 1662	9	7	3	0
9th April 1662	75	0	0	0
19th April 1662	87	11	18	18
28th May 1662	34	11	0	0
21st June 1662	80	0	0	0
28th June 1662	83	1	8	0
19th July 1662	74	9	0	0
26th July 1662	124	4	0	0
25th August 1662	27	9	15	0
6th October 1662	60	7	1	6
18th October 1662	5	2	0	0

MILL COINAGE

31st December 1663	27	8	0	0
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[See footnote on page 147]

DOUBLE CROWNS

Class I.

O1	CAROLVS·II·D·G· MAG·BRIT·FRAN· ET·HIB·REX	Pl. XII	R1, R2	Bust with frosted truncation. Large letters. Berries in broad laurel wreath. Tie with-loop.
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Class II.

O2	CAROLVS·II·D·G· MAG·BRIT·FRAN· ET·HIB·REX	Pl. XII	R1, R2, R3, R4, R5	Similar bust and lettering but coins struck on smaller, thicker flan. Bust truncation not frosted, no berries in thinner laurel wreath. No loop to tie.
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BRITAIN CROWNS

Class I.

O1	CAROLVS·II·D·G· MAG·BRIT·FR· ET·HIB·REX	Pl. XIII	R1	Tie with loop
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Class II.

O2	as O1	Pl. XIII	R1, R2	Tie without loop
----	-------	----------	--------	------------------

Class III.

O3	CAROLVS·II·D·G· MAG·BR·FR· ET·HI·REX	Pl. XIII	R3	Small lettering, colon stops.
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DOUBLE CROWNS

Class I & II.

R1	FLORENT· CONCORDIA· REGNA	Pl. XII	01, 02	
R2	as R1	Pl. XII	01, 02	
R3	·FLORENT· CONCORDIA· REGNA·	Pl. XII	02	
R4	as R3		02	Illustrated in Glendining's sale catalogue 30-5-1961 (Hird coll.) Lot 99.
R5	as R3	Pl. XII	02	

BRITAIN CROWNS

Class I & II.

R1	·FLORENT· CONCORDIA· REGNA·	Pl. XIII	01, 02	
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Class III.

R2	as R1	Pl. XIII	02	Small letters. Since this was combined with an obverse die of Class II O2/R2 coins are Class II/III mules.
R3	as R1	Pl. XIII	03	Small lettering.

TYPE II

Obverse Dies

UNITES

Class I.

Die Number	Legend	Illustration	Die Links	Remarks
O1	CAROLVS·II·D·G· MAG·BRIT·FRAN· ET·HIB·REX	Pl. XI	R1	Small lettering as class III of Type I unites, colon stops.

Class II.

O2	CAROLVS·II·D·G· MAG·BRIT·FRAN· ET·HIB·REX	Pl. XI	R1	As Class I but pellet stops.
O3	as O2	Pl. XI	R1, R2, R3	
O4	as O2	Pl. XI	R1, R4, R5, R6.	Leaves of laurel wreath form pointed tip above king's hair.
O5	as O2		R3	Illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalogue 22-5-1925 (Bruun collection) lot 816. Laurel wreath as O4.
O6	as O2	Pl. XI	R6, R7	Laurel wreath as O4
O7	as O2	Pl. XI	R1, R6, R8, R9, R10 R11, R12, R13, R14.	

Reverse Dies

UNITES

Class I and II

Die Number	Legend	Illustration	Die Links	Remarks
R1	FLORENT· CONCORDIA· REGNA·	Pl. XI	O1, O2	Small lettering, as reverse dies of Type I Class III.
R2	as R1	Pl. XI	O3	Illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalogue 11-6-1951 (Bute coll.) Lot 33.
R3	as R1	Pl. XI	O3, O5	
R4	as R1	Pl. XI	O4	
R5	FLORENT· CONCORDIA· REGNA·	Pl. XI	O4	
R6	as R1	Pl. XI	O4, O6, O7	
R7	as R1	Pl. XI	O6	
R8	as R5	Pl. XI	O7	
R9	as R5		O7	Illustrated in Glendinning's sale catalogue 1-2-1951 (Cunningham coll.) Lot 386.
R10	as R1	Pl. XI	O7	
R11	as R1	Pl. XI	O7	
R12	as R1	Pl. XI	O7	

R13	as R1	Pl. XI	07, 08, 09
R14	as R1	Pl. XI	07, 09
R15	as R1	Pl. XII	07, 09
R16	as R1	Pl. XII	09
R17	as R1	Pl. XII	09
R18	as R1	Pl. XII	09

Illustrated in
Sotheby's sale cata-
logue 18-5-1909
(Hilton Price coll.)
lot 256.

R13, R14,
R15, R16,
R17, R18.

DOUBLE CROWNS

Class I.

Bust similar to that
of Type I, class II,
but smaller letters
and colon stops.

R1

CAROLVS·II·D·G·
MAG·BRIT·FRAN·
ET·HIB·REX

O1

Class II.

As O1 but pellet
stops and tip of
laurel wreath more
pointed.

R1, R2, R3
R4, R5

CAROLVS·II·D·G·
MAG·BRIT·FRAN·
ET·HIB·REX

O2

Laurel wreath as O1.

R4, R5

as O2

O3

BRITAIN CROWNS

This is the O2 die of
Type I with the
mark of value
added.

R1

CAROLVS·II·D·G·
MAG·BRIT·FR·
ET·HIB·REX

O2

Same style and
large letters as O1,
but leaves of laurel
wreath do not form
pointed tip above
king's hair.

R1

as O1

O2

DOUBLE CROWNS

Class I and II.

R1 ·FLORENT·
CONCORDIA·
REGNA·

R1

O1, O2

R2 as R1

R2

O2

R3 as R1

R3

O2

R4 as R1

R4

O2, O3

R5 as R1

R5

O2, O3

BRITAIN CROWNS

This is the R1
die of Type I.

Pl. XIII

R1

O1, O2

·FLORENT·
CONCORDIA·
REGNA·

GENERAL CHART OF THE
HAMMERED GOLD COINAGE OF CHARLES II, 1660-1662

Amount of bullion minted: 836 lb, the equivalent of £34,276 of coined money at face value.

<i>Coining irons recorded:</i>	26	obverse dies	41	reverse dies
Unites:	17	„ „	28	„ „
Double crowns:	5	„ „	10	„ „
Britain crowns:	4	„ „	3	„ „

Amount of bullion recorded: £146.10.0 (110 unites, 55 double crowns, 36 Britain crowns)

TYPE I (NOV. 1660/OCT. 1661)

<i>Bullion minted:</i> (205 lb.)	£8,405	0	0
<i>Bullion recorded:</i>	63	5	0

TYPE II (APR. 1662/OCT. 1662)

<i>Bullion minted:</i> (631 lb.)	£25,871	0	0
<i>Bullion recorded:</i>	£83	5	0

COIN EVIDENCE

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
<i>Coins recorded:</i>	48	19	23
<i>Comparative rarity of denominations:</i>			
Research:	9	4	5
Dealers' and author's estimates:	3	1	1
<i>Coin production: (£8,405)</i>			
Research:	6,175	2,745	3,430
Dealers' and author's estimates:	6,724	2,242	2,240

COIN EVIDENCE

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
<i>Coins recorded:</i>	62	36	13
<i>Comparative rarity of denominations:</i>			
Research:	5	3	1
Dealers' and author's estimates:	7	3	1
<i>Coin production: (£25,871)</i>			
Research:	19,146	11,498	3,822
Dealers' and author's estimates:	20,697	8,870	2,956

Comparative rarity of denominations Type I/Type II

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
Research:	3 : 4	4 : 7	2 : 1
Dealers' and author's estimates:	1 : 2	2 : 5	2 : 1

TYPE I
DIE EVIDENCE

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
Number of obverse dies recorded:	8	2	3*
Number of reverse dies recorded:	10	5	3*
Number of die-combinations recorded:	13	7	4
Die ratios:	4 : 5	2 : 5	1 : 1

Die production:

(Average number of coins per set of dies)

Research	772	1,372	(1,143)†
Dealers' and author's estimates:	841	1,121	(747)‡

TYPE II
DIE EVIDENCE

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
Number of obverse dies recorded:	9	3	2**
Number of Reverse dies recorded:	18	5	1†
Number of die-combinations recorded:	29	8	2
Die ratios:	1 : 2	3 : 5	2 : 1

Die production:

(Average number of coins per set of dies)

Research:	2,129	3,833	(1,916)†
Dealers' and author's estimates:	2,300	2,957	(1,478)‡

COIN SURVIVAL

Average for the hammered gold coinage of 1680-1662: 4.27‰

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
Average for denominations:	7.77‰	6.92‰	6.71‰
Average for Type I minting period:	7.5‰		

	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
Average for denominations	3.24‰	3.13‰	3.39‰
Average for Type II minting period:	3.2‰		

* Of which one also used during Type II minting period.

** Of which one also used during Type I minting period.

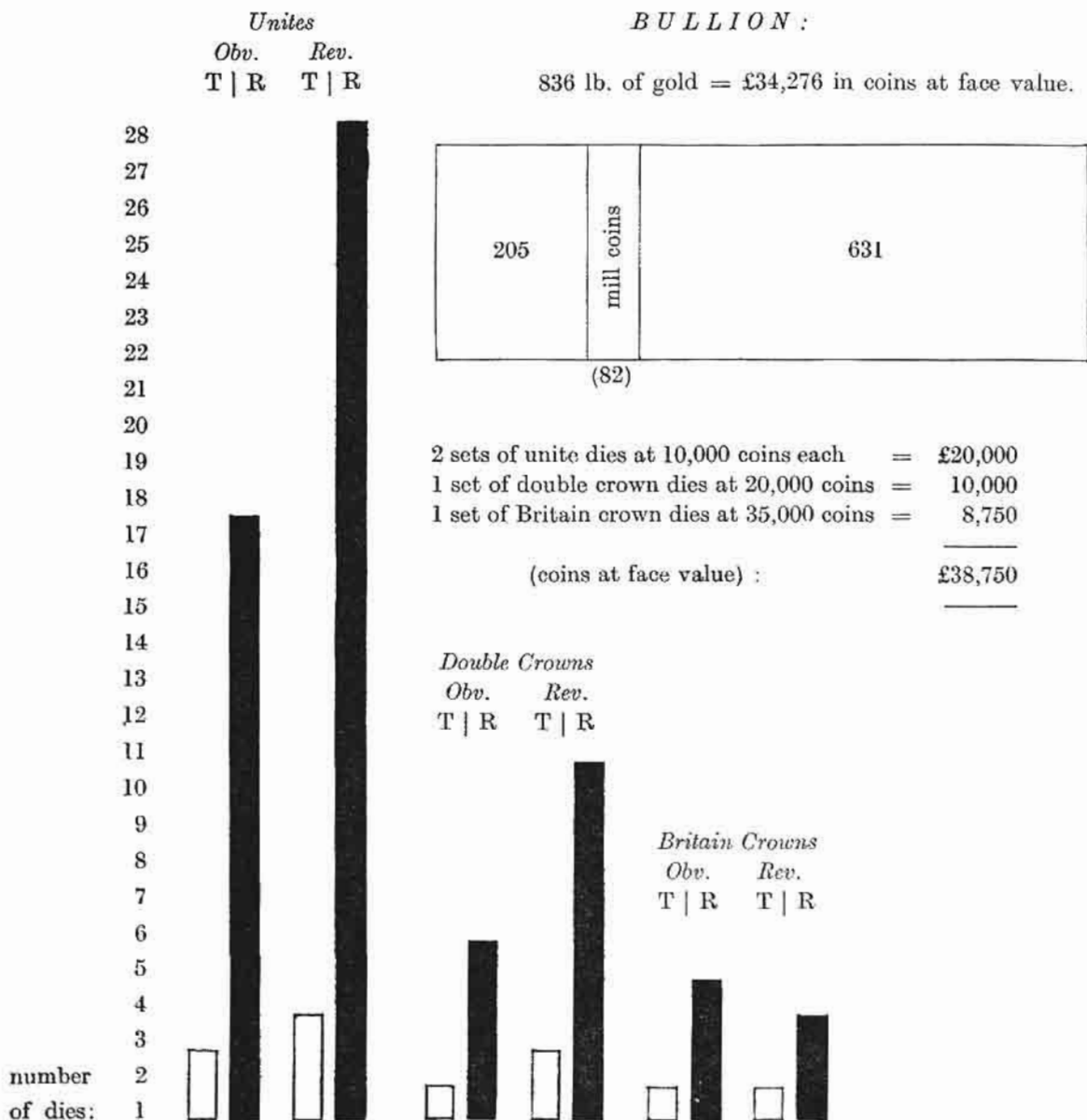
† Also used during Type I minting period.

‡ Since one obverse and one reverse die were extensively used during the coining periods of Type I and Type II, the above record is of academic interest only and it is obviously impossible to establish even approximately correct figures separately for Type I and Type II in the case of the Britain crowns. We can only combine the output figures per pair of dies for both issues and accept an average. For research we have a total of 3,059 and for dealers' and author's estimates of 2,225 Britain crowns. Research calculations therefore produce an average of 1,185 and dealers' and author's estimates of 1,300 coins per pair of dies, spread over the entire coinage.

CHART 1

STATISTICAL CHARTS

OF THE HAMMERED GOLD COINAGE OF CHARLES II

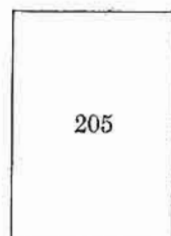


The number of dies obtained by theoretic calculations is shown in columns under letter T.

The number of dies actually recorded is shown in columns under letter R.
 Scale of columns: 5 millimetres equal one die (respectively one combination of dies for the denomination charts).

CHART 2

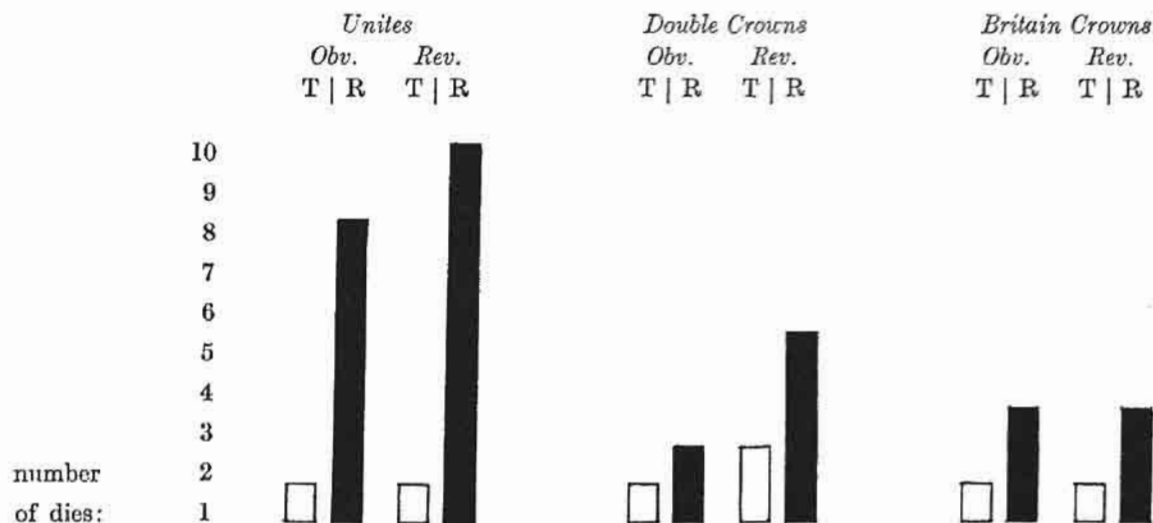
BULLION:



TYPE I MINTING PERIOD

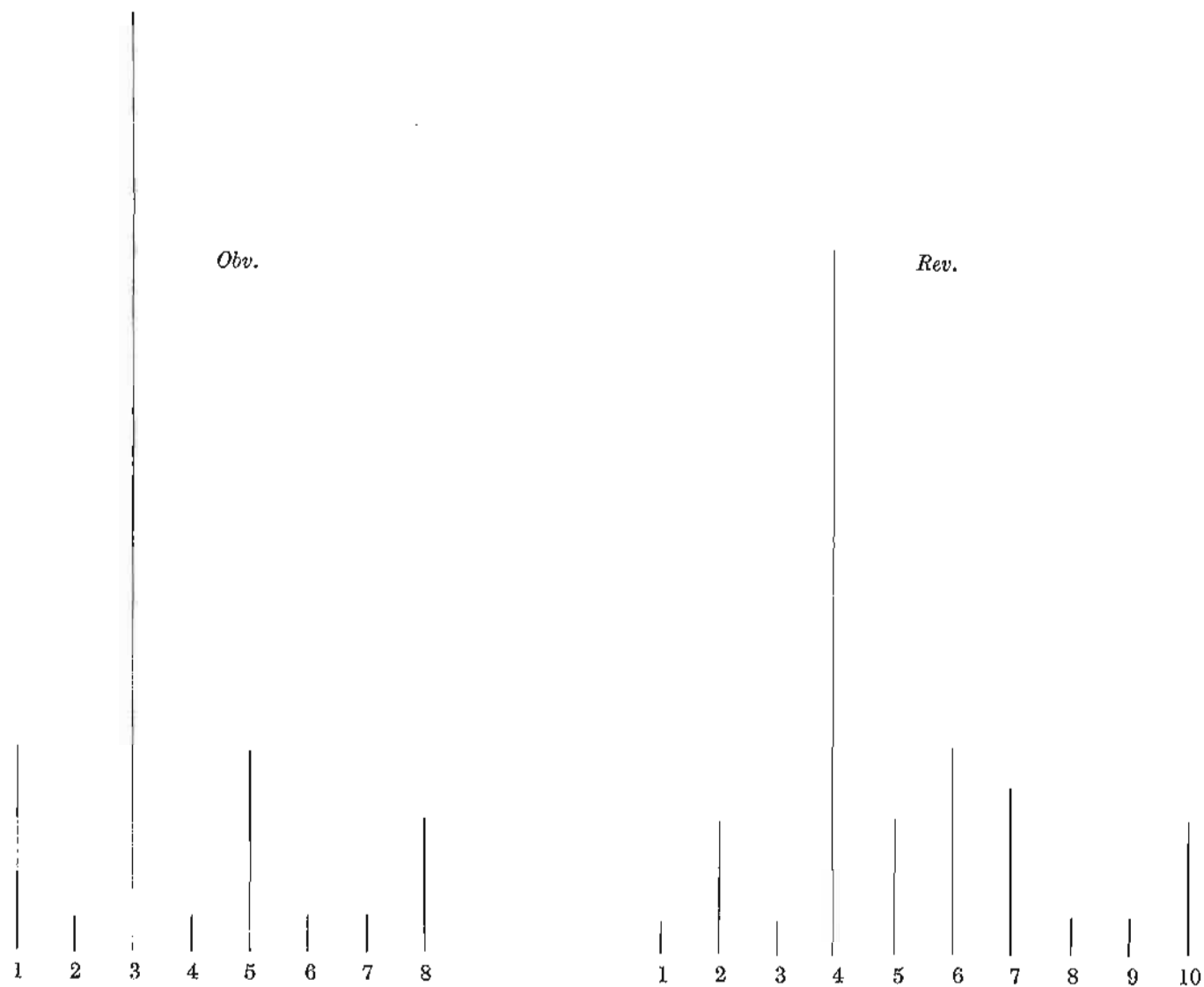
205 lb. of gold = £8,405 in coins at face value

1 set of unite dies at 10,000 coins	=	£10,000
1 set of double crown dies at 20,000 coins	=	10,000
1 set of Britain crown dies at 35,000 coins	=	8,750
(coins at face value):		<u>£28,750</u>



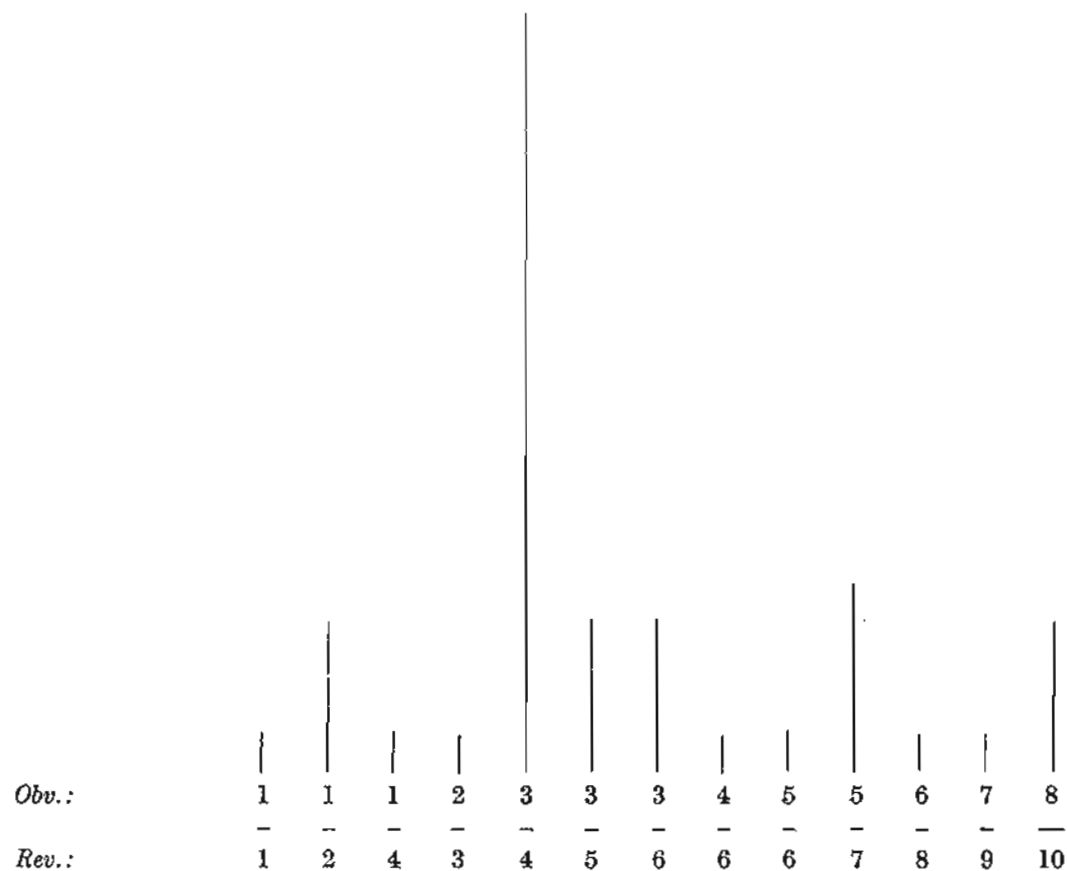
UNITES TYPE I

Frequency of the use of obverse and reverse dies recorded from 48 unites



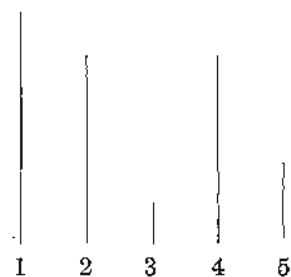
UNITES TYPE I

Frequency of the use of die combinations recorded from 48 unites



DOUBLE CROWNS TYPE I

Frequency of the use of obverse and reverse
dies recorded from 19 double crowns

Obv.*Rev.*

Frequency of the use of die combinations
recorded from 19 double crowns

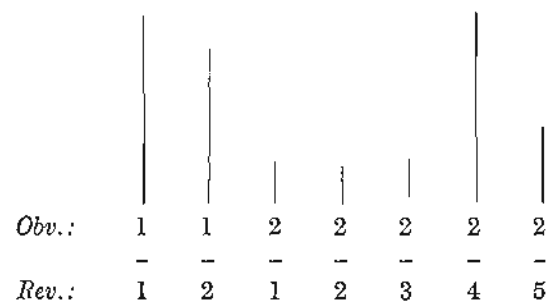
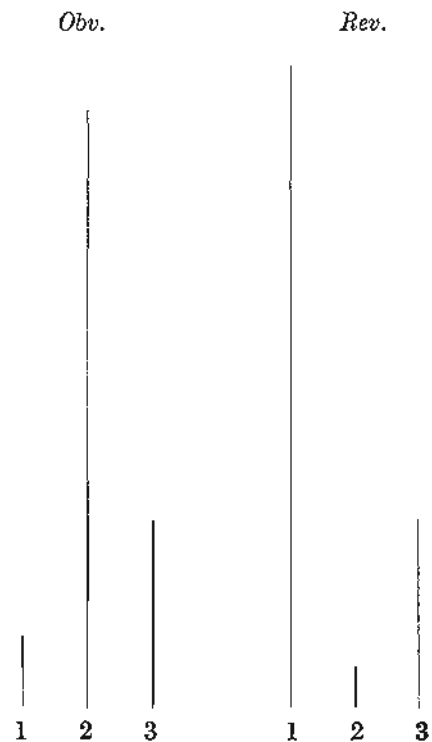


CHART 6

BRITAIN CROWNS TYPE I

Frequency of the use of obverse and reverse
dies recorded from 23 Britain crowns



Frequency of the use of die combinations
recorded from 23 Britain crowns

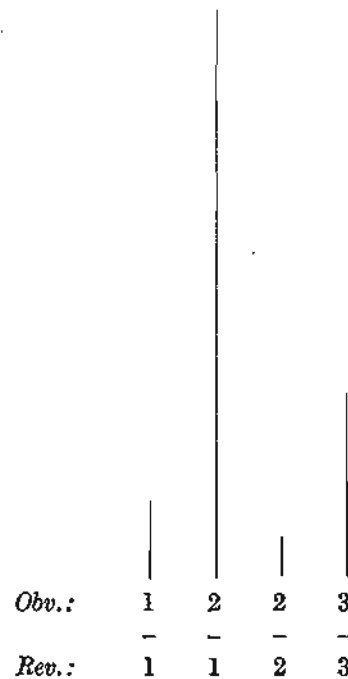
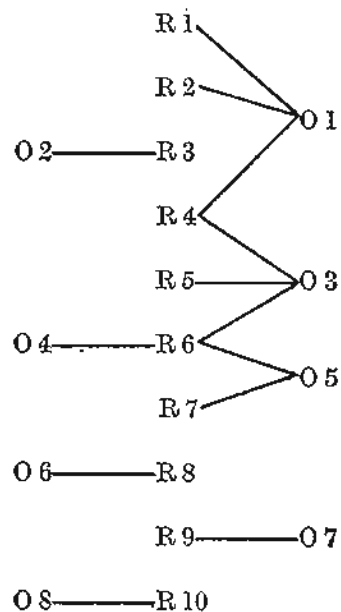


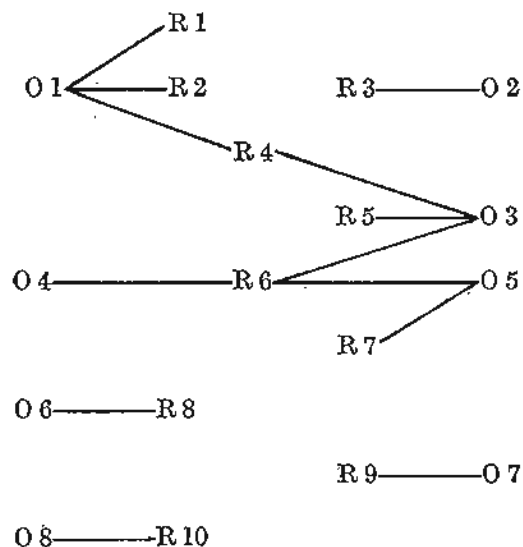
CHART 7

THE DIE LINKS OF TYPE I

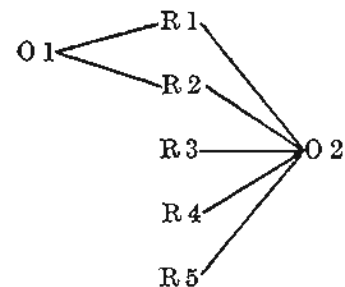
UNITES



UNITES
(experimental chart)



DOUBLE CROWNS



BRITAIN CROWNS

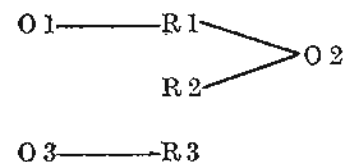
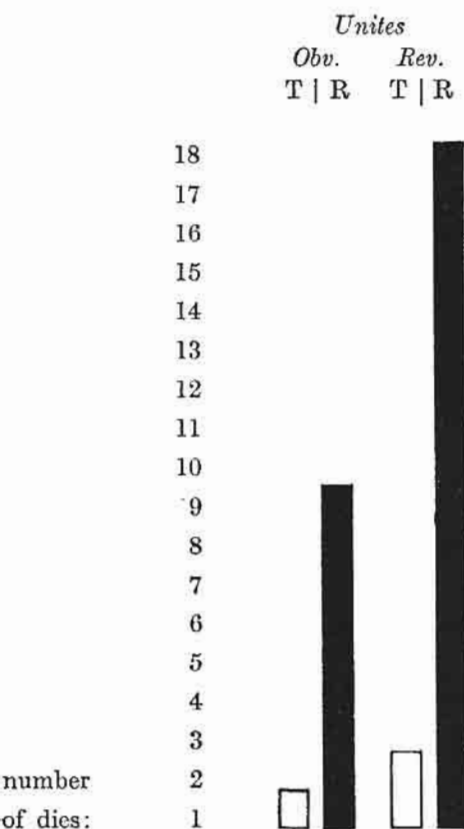
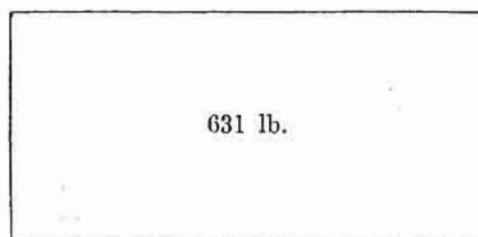


CHART 8

TYPE II MINTING PERIOD.

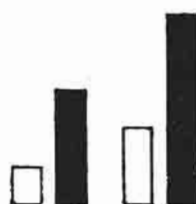
BULLION:

631 lb. of gold = £25,871 in coins at face value



1 set of unite dies at 10,000 coins	=	£10,000
1 set of double crown dies at 20,000 coins	=	10,000
1 set of Britain crown dies at 35,000 coins	=	8,750
(coins at face value):		£28,750

<i>Double Crowns</i>		<i>Britain Crowns</i>	
<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
T R	T R	T R	T R



☒ = dies also used during the Type I striking period.

CHART 9

UNITES TYPE II

Frequency of the use of obverse and reverse dies recorded from 62 unites

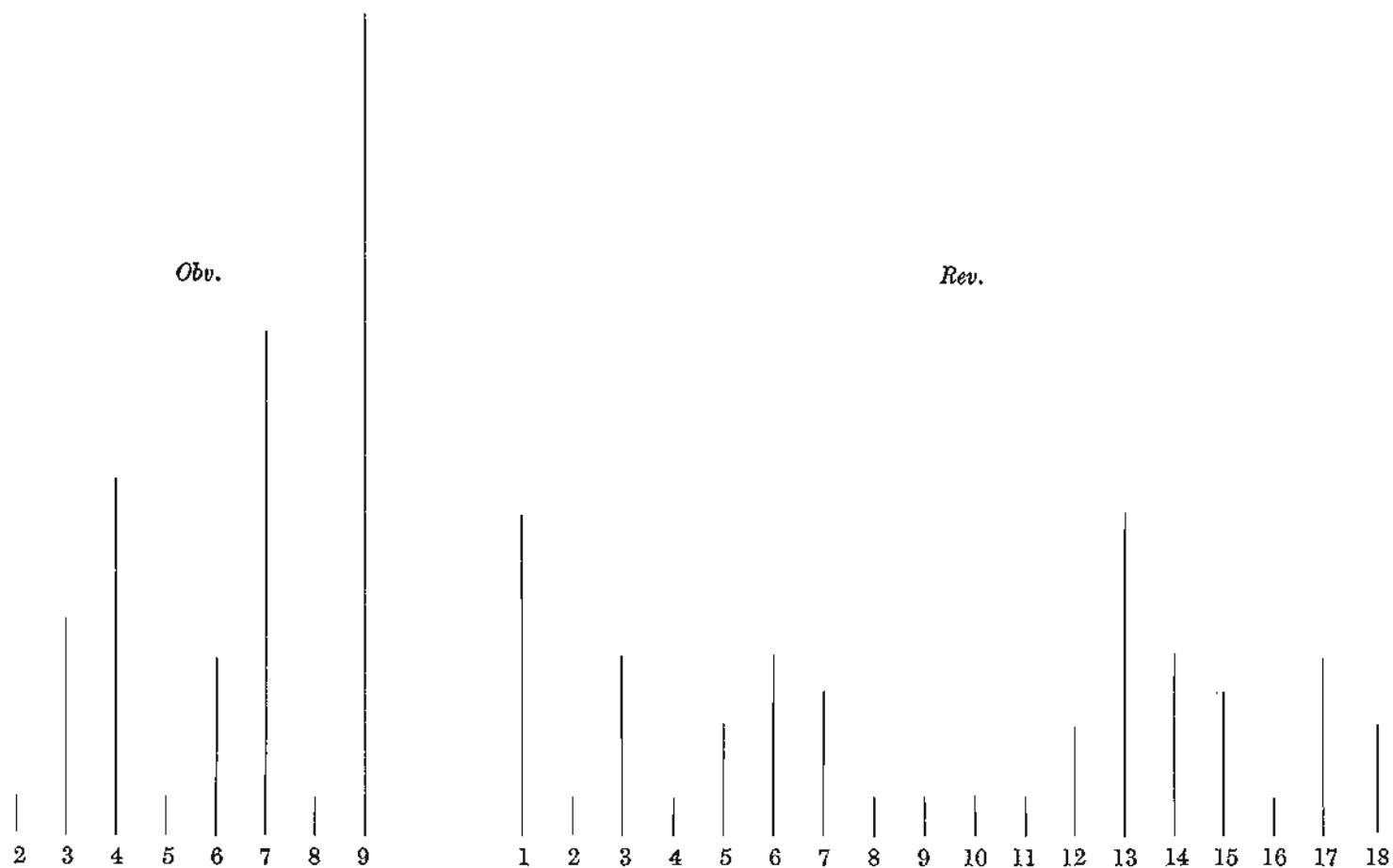
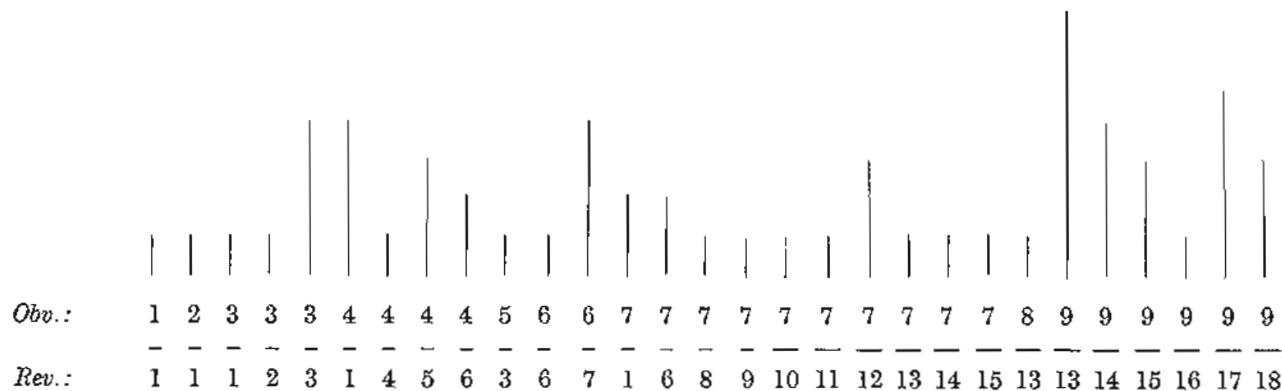


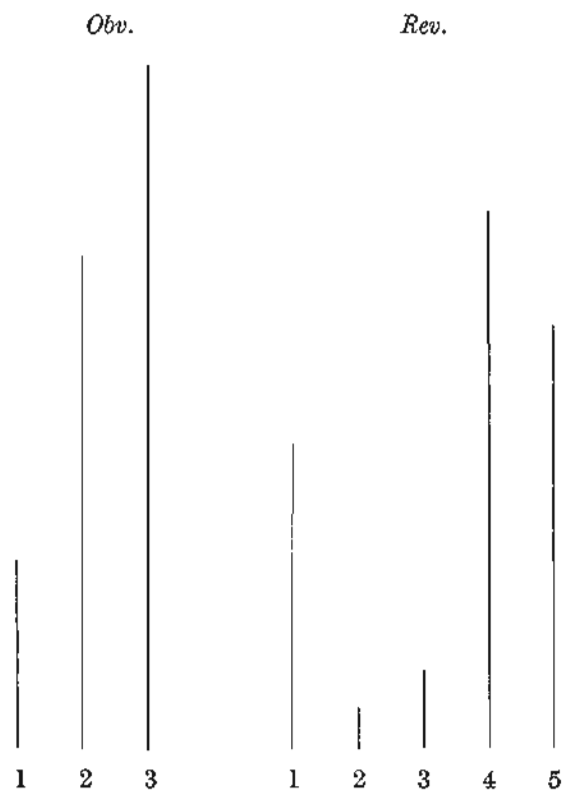
CHART 10

UNITES TYPE II

Frequency of the use of die combinations recorded from 62 unites



Frequency of the use of obverse and reverse
dies recorded from 36 double crowns



Frequency of the use of die combinations
recorded from 36 double crowns

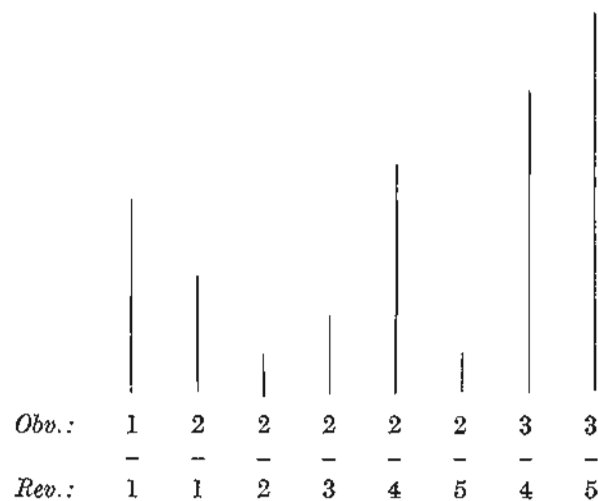
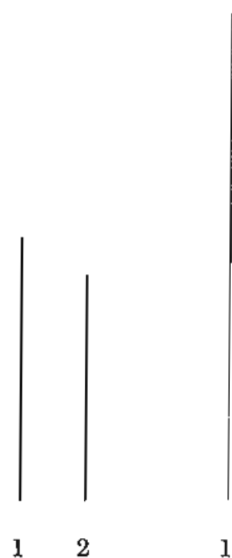


CHART 12

BRITAIN CROWNS TYPE II

Frequency of the use of obverse and reverse
dies recorded from 13 Britain crowns

Obv. *Rev.*



Frequency of the use of die combinations
recorded from 13 Britain crowns

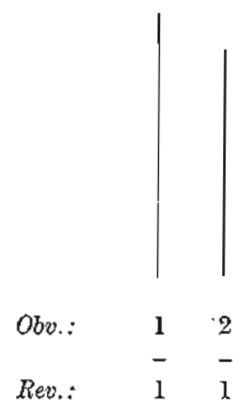
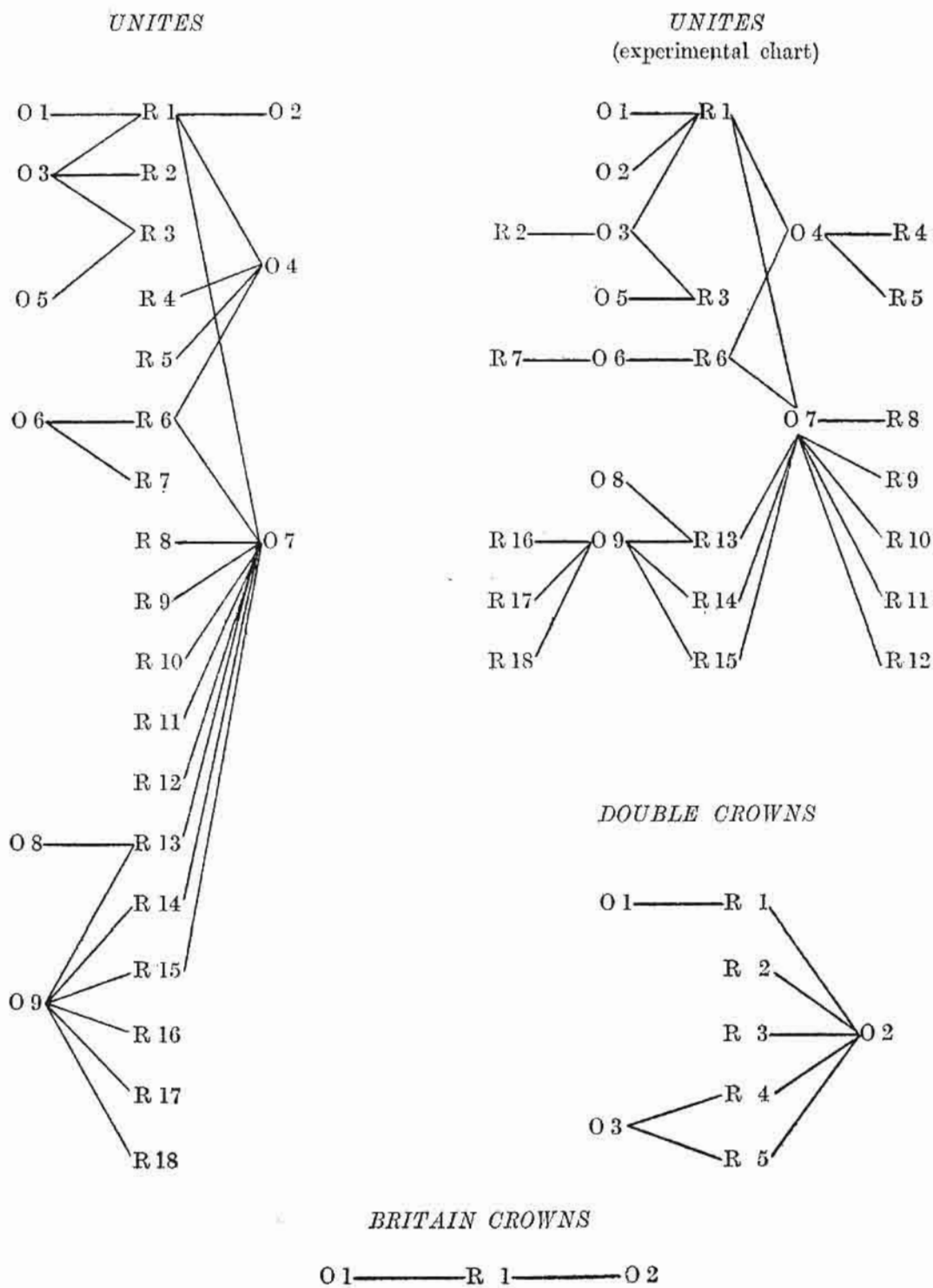


CHART 13

THE DIE LINKS OF TYPE II





O1



O2



O3



O3 (HIB)



O4



O5



O6



O7



O8



R1



R2



R3



R4



R5



R6



R7



R8



R9



R10



O1



O2



O3



O4



O6



O7



O9



R1



R2



R3



R4



R5



R6



R7



R8



R10



R11



R12



R13



R14



R15



R16



R17



R18

DOUBLE CROWNS OF TYPE I



O1



O2



R1



R2



R4



R5

DOUBLE CROWNS OF TYPE II



O1



O2



O3



R1



R2



R3



R4



R5

Type I. (Enlarged)



O1



O2



O2 (ECC)



O3



R1



R2



R3

BRITAIN CROWNS OF CHARLES II

Type II. (Enlarged)



O1



O2



R1

THE IRISH EMERGENCY COINAGES OF JAMES II

1689 - 1691

By D. STEVENSON

THE purpose of this paper is to examine the circumstances in which the Irish emergency coinages of James II were struck and to indicate the reactions of contemporaries to them.¹ 'Emergency coinages' seems the most suitable name for the coins that contemporaries knew as 'brass money',² 'pewter money' and 'hibernias'; the term 'gunmoney' is ambiguous in that it is sometimes used to refer to all three types of coin, sometimes only to the brass.³

James II fled from England to France in December 1688. The following March he arrived in Ireland to attempt to win back his throne with the help of the Irish Catholics who remained loyal to him. He was faced with many problems in Ireland, and one of the most serious of these was the financial situation. In the past few years many Protestants had sent large amounts of gold and silver coin to England for safekeeping, as they feared that James' policy of favouring Catholics would lead to trouble in Ireland, and now that civil war threatened much coin was being hoarded. Thus gold and silver coin had largely disappeared from circulation at a time when government expenditure was increasing fast, for a large army was being raised, and revenue was falling as the disordered state of the country hindered tax collection.⁴ The little gold and silver that the government did manage to collect was needed to buy arms and other necessities of war abroad. Some sort of emergency coinage was vitally needed to pay for the army and administration and thus prevent the collapse of the Jacobite war effort. It was therefore decided to issue a token coinage. This seems to have been the idea of a Quaker,⁵ William Bromfield, who was appointed one of the commissioners of the mint and was described as 'the Man that King James trusted the Management of his Mint to, the other Commissioners being Men of no Knowledge in such matters'.⁶ That the government intended to set up a mint was common knowledge in Dublin by 8 June 1689, but no official announcement was made until 18 June, when a proclamation was issued 'for remedy of the present scarcity of money, and that our standing forces may be the better paid, and that our subjects of this realm may be the better enabled to pay and discharge the taxes, excise, customs, rents, and other debts and duties, which are or shall be hereafter payable to us'. It announced that sixpenny pieces were to be coined in copper and brass, and were to be used in all payments (the only exemptions being payment of debts and the first sales of imported goods). Those who refused to accept the new coins would be 'punished according to the utmost rigour of the law, as contemnors of our royal prerogative and command'. The coins, it was stressed, were only temporary, and would be exchanged for gold and silver

¹ Detailed descriptions of the coins may be found in P. Nelson, 'The coinage of Ireland in copper, tin and pewter, 1460-1826', *British Numismatic Journal* i, 192-9.

² For the first few months of issue the 'brass' coins were often referred to as 'copper money', but after this they were usually called 'brass'.

³ The earliest use of the term 'gunmoney' that I know of is in a sale catalogue of 1764, *Musaeum*

Thoresbyanum . . . [Lond. 1764], p. 14.

⁴ D'Avaux, *Negociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, 1689-90, ed. J. Hogan (Dublin 1934), i, 198.

⁵ G. Story, *A true and impartial history of the wars of Ireland* (Lond. 1691), p. 50; J. Oldmixon, *Memoirs of Ireland* . . . (Lond. 1716), pp. 188-9.

⁶ Loc. cit.

once the present crisis was over.¹ The following day a warrant was issued for the seizing of coining presses and other equipment from colonel Roger Moore, who held a patent for coining copper halfpennies (originally issued to Sir John Knox).² It would seem from the wording of the warrant that coining of brass had already begun before the presses were seized. On 27 June another proclamation announced the issue of brass half-crowns and shillings on the same terms as the sixpences, adding that counterfeiters would be regarded as guilty of high treason and that those who informed against them would be rewarded. To encourage use of the new coin the commissioners of the mint were ordered to give 20/6 in brass in exchange for every 20/- of gold and silver offered to them.³

Coining at the mint (in Capel Street, Dublin) was evidently slower than anticipated, for on 1 July the commissioners were ordered to 'consult what is fit to be done to advance the coinage'. They recommended shift working so that the mint could work night and day, but there was a shortage of engravers and there is no evidence that double shift working was in fact adopted.⁴ Apart from this all went well at first with the new coinage, and a branch mint was set up in the Deanery at Limerick.⁵ The French ambassador in Ireland, d'Avaux, reported to Louis XIV on 4 July that the brass money was being accepted, to the great relief of James II,⁶ and in August the mint commissioners were ordered to pay £2,000 a week in brass coin to the receivers general and the rest (at least nine-tenths of the total⁷) to the paymaster of the army, Sir Michael Creagh.⁸

By this time however difficulties had arisen. There was a shortage of brass, and warrant had been issued for the coining of two guns (presumably obsolete ones) from Dublin castle. Revenue collectors had been ordered to buy up any copper and brass they could find and send it to Dublin. D'Avaux reported trouble in the Dublin mint; there was a lack of skilled workers, and most of those that could be found were Protestants and hostile to the Jacobite regime, though they had been ordered to swear to serve the king faithfully. D'Avaux managed to find a loyal *entrepreneur*, but the chief melter was jealous of him. The ambassador begged that fifty tons of copper, some steel (for making dies) and engravers be sent from France.⁹ More serious than these difficulties in the manufacture of the coins was the increasing reluctance of the public to accept them. This first appeared in August, when it was reported that people were refusing to bring their goods to market as they would have to accept payment in brass for them, and that a senior official of James's, the lord chancellor, was refusing to accept payment of rent from his tenants in brass. 'Brass money began to fall and things began to rise' recorded a diarist under 23 August, and other reports confirm this.¹⁰ From now on references to rising prices and the falling value of brass become constant.¹¹ There

¹ *A true account of the present state of Ireland* (Lond. 1689); J. Simon, *An essay towards an historical account of Irish Coins . . .* (Dublin 1749), pp. 152-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 148-50, 152.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-5, 157.

⁴ W. H. Hardinge, 'A concluding memoir on manuscript mapped and other townland surveys in Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xiv. 309.

⁵ The Limerick mint may not have been established until some months after this: In August d'Avaux was planning to set up a mint in Athlone, but this was not done and the Limerick mint may have been set up instead, D'Avaux, *op. cit.*, i. 382. The Limerick mint is first mentioned as being at work in January 1690, Simon, *Essay*, p. 164.

⁶ D'Avaux, *op. cit.*, i. 258.

⁷ Hardinge, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁹ Simon, *Essay*, pp. 156-7; D'Avaux, *op. cit.*, i. 383, 465, 581.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 382; W. King, *The diary of William King . . . kept during his imprisonment in Dublin Castle, 1689*, ed. H. J. Lawlor (Dublin 1903), pp. 38, 40-1; Colles, 'A diary of events in Ireland from 1685 to 1690', HMC (Historical manuscripts commission) 36: *Ormonde N.S. VIII*, 370; L. Tate (ed.), 'Franco-Irish correspondence, 1688-1691', *Analecta Hibernica*, xxi, 199.

¹¹ E.g., D'Avaux, *op. cit.*, i. 430-1, 502-3, 551, 642, 643; King, *Diary*, pp. 44-5; Colles, *Diary*, pp. 370, 372, 375; Tyrconnell, 'Letterbook', *Analecta Hibernica*, iv, 109-10, 112-3.

is only one dissident voice, that of John Stevens, an English Catholic serving in the Irish army. He maintained that brass money remained equal in value to silver until the spring of 1690.¹ Perhaps the explanation of this lies in the fact that he was a soldier and therefore people did not dare illegally to refuse to accept brass when he tendered it.

The shortage of brass grew worse, 'which made the Irish to wonder that England had more silver and gold than Ireland brass'.² Writing to James II's wife, Mary of Modena, in France the duke of Tyrconnell (the lord lieutenant of Ireland) included in a list of 'things we cannot subsist here without' a request that 'forty guns may be sent us to coin into money'. In November he stated that he would need eighty or ninety tons of copper before the end of March 1690, and he stressed that this was more important than sending arms or ammunition. Forty tons of copper would coin only £300,000, and war expenses were £100,000 per month. While awaiting French copper, cannon from Limerick, Kinsale, Galway, Athlone, Dublin and even Brest in France were coined. Trouble continued at the Dublin mint, where dishonesty was discovered among some of the workers.³

Amid all these difficulties prices continued to rise and brass to be despised. It was even alleged that the government refused to accept payment of taxes in brass if there was a possibility of forcing payment in gold or silver.⁴ Rather than trust their wealth to brass money many Protestant merchants began to hoard staple goods which would always have some value—hides, tallow, leather, wool, and so on. This hoarding forced up prices still further and led to the issuing of a proclamation in February 1690 fixing the prices of such goods and threatening to seize them from Protestants unless they would sell the government as much as it needed.⁵

A further blow to the prestige of brass was the decision to pay French troops which were being sent to Ireland in gold and silver. James and Tyrconnell had requested that they be paid in brass⁶ but the French had refused, not surprisingly as an attempt to pay their troops in brass might have provoked mutiny and certainly would have gravely undermined their morale. Yet the decision was disastrous to what little credit brass retained. John Stevens attributed the fall in the value of brass entirely to French contempt for it and the competition of French silver.⁷ All attempts to restore confidence failed. The few restrictions on the use of brass were removed and it was promised that in future the coining of brass would be limited to what was absolutely necessary. The government offered to receive loans of brass, paying 6% p.a. interest. But response to the offer was so poor that in June the interest rate was raised to 10%, and there is no evidence that coining was limited.⁸ In the same month it was forbidden to give more than 38/- of brass for a gold guinea, or 7/6 for a silver crown, but as up to £4:10:0 was already being offered for guineas the limitation had little effect.⁹

The failure of the brass money was of much assistance to the Williamite troops which had landed in Ulster the previous Summer, for many Irish farmers preferred rather to sell their

¹ J. Stevens, *Journal*, ed. R. H. Murray (Oxford 1912), pp. 83-4.

² Colles, *Diary*, p. 372.

³ Tyrconnell, op. cit., pp. 102-3, 105-7; King, *Diary*, pp. 55, 71; D'Avaux, op. cit., i, 659-60; Colles, *Diary*, pp. 374, 377; Hardinge, op. cit., p. 311; Simon, *Essay*, p. 164; *Account of the transactions of the late king James in Ireland* . . . (Lond. 1690), p. 57.

⁴ *News from Chester* . . . (Lond. 1689), p. 1; *A large and particular relation of the affairs of Ireland* . . . (Lond. 1689), p. 2; *The Character of the Protestants of Ireland* . . . (Lond. 1689), p. 16.

⁵ HMC 36; *Ormonde II*, 430-1; *Account of the transactions of the late king James* . . . , pp. 13-16; Colles, *Diary*, p. 377; *True and perfect journal of the affairs of Ireland* . . . (Lond. 1690), p. 12; *An account of the present state Ireland is in* . . . (Lond. 1690), p. 1.

⁶ D'Avaux, op. cit., i, 642; Tyrconnell, op. cit., pp. 109-10.

⁷ Stevens, *Journal*, p. 102; C. O'Kelly, *The Jacobite war in Ireland*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Dublin 1894), p. 61.

⁸ Simon, *Essay*, pp. 155-9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4; Colles, *Diary*, p. 384.

provisions to the Williamites in exchange for silver than to their countrymen in exchange for brass.¹ The contempt of the Williamites for the brass was seen when they captured Cavan in February 1690: they found about £4,000 of brass in the town, but the soldiers threw it away as not worth keeping.²

However, in spite of its great depreciation the brass money was still better than no coinage at all as far as James was concerned, for it was all he had with which to pay his troops. At the end of March 1690 he ordered the issue of new coins, pennies and halfpennies in pewter. Soon after this a pewter crown was struck and the brass half-crowns and shillings were reduced in weight³—hardly a move likely to inspire confidence but rendered necessary by the continuing shortage of brass. On 15 June one proclamation withdrew the large half-crowns and shillings from circulation, while a second announced the issue of brass crown pieces.⁴ Though officially there was no connection between the two, in fact the new crowns were merely the old half-crowns struck with a new design.

On 1 July 1690 the Irish were defeated at the battle of the Boyne, and a week later the Williamites entered Dublin. William III announced new rates for the Jacobite emergency coins: the brass crowns and large half-crowns were reduced to the value of one penny, the large shillings and pewter pennies to a halfpenny, and the rest of the coins to a farthing. The Jacobites had left over £22,000 in brass and pewter in the Dublin mint; at the new rates it was only worth about £642.⁵

Brass continued to be struck at the Limerick mint until October, but even in Jacobite held areas the coin was now almost worthless, and this was one of the main reasons that Tyrconnell gave when he unsuccessfully advised a Jacobite surrender—he could not see how the army could be paid any longer now that the brass was of no value.⁶ In January 1691 the Irish finally admitted that nothing was going to restore the value of their emergency coinages by devaluing them, the crown becoming worth fivepence,⁷ and announcing that the brass would be withdrawn from circulation on 15 March. Those who had brass coins were to bring them to the treasury where they would be given receipts which would entitle them to full repayment when James was restored to his throne. As James Stevens remarked, this 'might have been done long before, or not at all, because . . . it was of no value'.⁸ The Williamites declared the coins valueless on 23 February, for many Irish had found that even the reduced rates guaranteed in Williamite areas were higher than those obtainable in Irish held areas and had therefore brought large amounts of brass from the latter to the former to spend 'with vast advantage to themselves', and the Williamites naturally had no wish to support the coinage of their enemies.⁹

¹ J. Shirley, *The true impartial history and wars of the kingdom of Ireland* . . . (1692), pp. 55, 59.

² Story, *True and impartial history*, pp. 54-5; *Calendar of state papers, domestic, 1689-90*, p. 535.

³ Simon, *Essay*, pp. 159-62; These pewter coins may have given a word to the English language, for the Irish called them *uim bog* ('soft copper'), and it has been suggested that this came to be applied to any form of deception or sham, being anglicised as 'humbug', *Notes and Queries*, viii, 422, cited in A. Smith 'Money of necessity issued in Ireland in the reign of James II', *N.C.*, 1870, pp. 265-6.

⁴ Simon, *Essay*, pp. 162-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 165-6; Hardinge, *op. cit.*, p. 270; later some of the brass money was sold 'and sent

over in barrels to England, to be transported to our colonies in North America', Oldmixon, *Memoirs of Ireland*, p. 188.

⁶ Stevens, *Journal*, pp. 142, 157-8; J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland* (Dublin 1892), p. 110.

⁷ Stevens, *Journal*, p. 195; K. Danaher & J. G. Simms (eds.), *The Danish force in Ireland, 1690-91* (Dublin 1962), p. 98.

⁸ Tate, 'Franco-Irish correspondence', *Analecta Hibernica*, xxi, 206-7; Gilbert, *Jacobite narrative*, p. 129; Stevens, *Journal*, p. 197.

⁹ Simon, *Essay*, p. 165; *Calendar of state papers, domestic, 1690-1*, p. 265.

The Jacobites made one more effort to establish a coinage. Some of the brass shillings were recoined in Limerick, the large ones as halfpennies, the small ones as farthings, at some time between their withdrawal from circulation as shillings in March 1691 and the surrender of the city in October. The main interest of these coins lies in the reverse type, a seated figure representing Hibernia (whence they became known as 'hibernias'). This was the first time such a figure had appeared on Irish coins and it must have been a reflection of the nationalism of Limerick's defenders, a rival to the Britannia of English coins.

In design the emergency coinages progressively deteriorated. The brass coins are very attractive pieces and well struck, though the crown (the last of the coins issued) is the least pleasing. The pewter and the hibernias have little to recommend them, many of the latter being very crudely struck. Philip Nelson states that all the emergency coins were engraved by one of the Roettier family of medallists,¹ but it is hard to believe that they were all the work of the same man. Certainly the brass may have been by a Roettier, and even the pewter, but whoever designed these coins probably left Ireland after the Boyne, the hibernias being the work of some Irish craftsman. Two points deserve note concerning the inscriptions of the coins. The first is the inclusion of the month as well as the year in the dates on all the brass (except the crowns). This was doubtless intended to stress the temporary nature of the coinage, a thing that James was always at pains to do, and perhaps to make it possible to redeem the coins for gold or silver once the crisis was over in the order that they had been issued. The second feature of the inscriptions is common to all the emergency coins; the list of James's titles on them includes the traditional style of king of France. It is strange that James should have risked causing offence by including this technical claim at a time when he was wholly dependent on French help—even for copper on which to strike his coins. Strangely no contemporary appears to have remarked on this inappropriate claim.

Contemporaries were almost unanimous in their hostility to the emergency coinages. Protestant propagandists claimed that only Protestants were forced to accept the coins and that they were one of James's evil devices to ruin them. Their contempt for the coins and those who had issued them was unlimited, and they talked of 'their Tinkerly Treasure' and 'their brass imaginary coin made only valuable by the magic of their priests'. They sarcastically invented supposed benefits of the coin; it helped the poor, for those who had the valueless coin were generous in giving it away, and 'this advantage is by their Brass Money that it Circulates more than Silver; for those that have it are very uneasy until they dispose of it'.² Hatred of the memory of the coins remained strong in the eighteenth century. Protestants toasted 'the glorious, pious and immortal memory of the good and great King William, who delivered us from Popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes'³ and pamphleteers (including Jonathan Swift) trying to rouse feeling against 'Wood's halfpence' in the 1720s compared it with James's brass money; one of those who did so was Sir Michael Creagh, who could speak with authority on the harmful effects of such coins since as paymaster of James's Irish army most of the brass money had passed through his hands.⁴

¹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

² W. King, *State of the Protestants of Ireland* . . . (Lond. 1691), pp. 150-1; *Account of the transactions of the late king James* . . . , pp. 10, 16, 57, 58; *The character of the Protestants of Ireland* . . . , p. 16; HMC 71; *Finch II*, 337; A. Smith, 'On the Irish pewter coins of James II', *Kilkenny Journal*, iii, 144; *Account of the present state Ireland is in* . . . , p. 1.

³ C. Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges* (Lond. 1956), p. 101.

⁴ E.g., J. Swift, *The Drapier's letters*, ed. H. Davis (Oxford 1935), pp. 8, 51; *A defence of the conduct of the people of Ireland* . . . (Dublin, 1724), pp. 21-2; Sir M. Creagh, *Remarks upon Mr. Wood's coin* . . . (Dublin 1724), p. 6.

If brass money was long remembered among Irish Protestants as among the worst features of James II's rule, it was no more popular with Catholics. They denounced it as the worst of the means used to support the Irish army, and it was 'generally believed to be in a great measure the occasion of the ruin of the Irish', its value 'equivalent almost to nothing'.¹

A few claimed that the brass had saved many from starving, though it was not explained how this was achieved,² and apart from this no one had a good word for it. Yet from the Jacobite viewpoint the coinages had been most useful. Without them James could not have paid his army or fought at all.³ Williamites might sneer at the coins as 'imaginary sinews of a war',⁴ but they were far more than imaginary.

What was the total amount struck in the emergency coinages? In 1749 James Simon printed an account which, by his arithmetic, gave a total of £1,596,799:0:6 struck in half-crowns, shillings and sixpences. To this he added various sums to allow for large half-crowns restruck as crowns and large shillings recoined as small shillings and decided that over £2,163,237:9:0 must have been struck altogether. Unfortunately his suggested additions inspire little confidence and in his original adding up of the totals in the account he counts the large shillings and half-crowns twice; the true total is only £907,420:13:6, not £1,596,799:0:6.⁵ Also, the manuscript account only gives the amount struck up to 14 June 1690, and the Dublin mint continued at work for more than two weeks after that (up to the Boyne) and the Limerick mint for a further four months. Thus Simon's figures have little value. To add to the confusion caused by Simon's mistakes, later writers have misinterpreted his figures and stated that he claimed that £1,596,799:0:6 was the total struck,⁶ whereas his suggestion was £2,163,237:9:0.

A figure commonly accepted in the eighteenth century as the total struck was £965,375.⁷ This derives from William King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, but he quotes the figure (without giving any authority for it) only as the approximate total struck up to the time of the Boyne, thus taking no account of the later output of the Limerick mint.⁸ Another contemporary estimate put the total at not much more than £1,100,000, and this is said to have been based on the estimates of 'people concern'd in the Treasury in King James's time'.⁹

These three estimates suggest (when suitably amended in the case of the first two) that the total face value of the emergency coinages struck was somewhere between £1m. and £1½m. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the official accounts of the mint commissioners, and this suggests that the total was more like £2m. The fragment gives details of the coins struck by the James press in the Dublin mint from 3 August 1689 to 17 May 1690. In this period 10,451,099 coins valuing £777,759:14:11 were struck,¹⁰ an average of about £19,000 a week. Now if the press was striking at about the same rate in the rest of the period from 18 June 1689 to the Boyne, then the James press alone would have minted about £950,000.

¹ Gilbert, *Jacobite narrative*, p. 54; O'Kelly, *Jacobite war*, p. 58; Stevens, *Journal*, p. 192.

² Gilbert, *Jacobite narrative*, p. 54; Colles, *Diary*, p. 365.

³ As some Williamites realised—e.g., Story, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴ HMC 71; *Finch II*, 345.

⁵ Simon, *Essay*, p. 63; Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 190 gives a correct version of the account. The account is in a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (F. 4. 24.), where it is noted down roughly on a page with notes on unrelated subjects. Nothing is said

as to the origin of the figures.

⁶ Stevens, *Journal*, p. xlviii; W. Harris, *Life and reign of William—Henry* . . . (Dublin 1749), p. 239; H. Christmas, 'Irish coins of copper and billon,' pt. i, *NC*, 1862, p. 299.

⁷ Oldmixon, *Memoirs of Ireland*, p. 179; W. Nicolson, *The Irish historical library* . . . (Dublin 1724), p. 173.

⁸ King, *State of the Protestants of Ireland* . . . , p. 151.

⁹ Story, *True and impartial history*, p. 93.

¹⁰ Hardinge, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

Originally there were two presses at the Dublin mint, the James and the Duchess.¹ Clearly if the Duchess struck at a rate anything like that of the James the total coined at Dublin alone must have been nearly £2m. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the activities of the Duchess press. Up to 1 July 1689 only one of the presses in the Dublin mint was in use,² and though it was then planned to use both presses there is no evidence that this was done. It may well be that the Duchess press was sent to Limerick when a mint was established there, for it is hard to understand from where else the press in Limerick could have come. Whatever press was used at Limerick, there is no basis for even a guess as to how much coin was struck there, but there is no reason why it should not have struck at about the same rate as the James press in Dublin—it was certainly far better placed than Dublin to receive supplies of copper from France. Thus the exact figures for the total face values of the emergency coinages given in the past must be rejected, but in their place one can only put the rather vague estimate that the total was probably between £1½m. and £2m.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 309; Simon, *Essay*, p. 59.

² Hardinge, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

CUT COINS IN CANADA

By T. V. BUTTREY

A FAMILIAR phenomenon of the 18th and 19th centuries in the Caribbean was the cutting of silver coin, notably the Spanish colonial eight and two *reales*, to provide small change. Many varieties of these segments are known, distinguishable among themselves by size and shape, and by the characteristic counterstamps or edge devices stamped or cut upon them by the various colonial authorities for their identification and valuation. The cut and counterstamped coinage of the West Indies has already been the subject of considerable investigation.¹

One frequently hears it said that similar cut coinage circulated in Canada. The primary evidence is the 'Ordinance for regulating and establishing the Currency of the Province', of September 14, 1764, which includes this paragraph:

And whereas a Practice has been introduced of cutting Dollars, and of passing the Fragments as small Change at an arbitrary Value; and the same being liable to great Fraud and Abuse, *It is hereby further Ordained and Declared*, That from the Date of the Publication hereof, No Parts of Dollars, or any other Coin, so cut, or otherwise clipped, shall be admitted to pass current by Way of Change in any part of this Province, and that all Persons, uttering or passing any such, upon Conviction thereof by the Oath of One credible Witness, before One or more Justices of Peace, shall, for the First Offense, forfeit the Sum of Ten Shillings, current Money of the Province, and Twenty for the Second, besides One Month's Imprisonment; the said Fines, so levied, to be applied to His Majesty's Use.²

The terms of this paragraph make it certain that cut coinage was being circulated, and very likely produced, in Quebec at the time; although the lack of any historical comment and of any suggestion of amortization show that the cut coins had never been official. The comparatively small fine suggests as well that while the use of cut coins was a nuisance, they probably had not become a substantial part of the currency.³ It is worth noting that our distinction between cutting and clipping is not maintained in the ordinance. To the official mind both practices might seem equally destructive of the currency, and it is true that cutting gave the unworthy (or even a government) the chance to save a bit by shaving the edges of the fragments.⁴

This ordinance is regularly referred to by the historians.⁵ But however plain it is, when we come to look for the coins the situation is desperate. To be sure, in 1813 the so-called Holey

¹ See particularly Howland Wood, 'The Coinage of the West Indies', in *American Journal of Numismatics* 48 (1914) 89-128; and the excellent series of articles by F. Pridmore in *Numismatic Circular* for the years 1959 through 1964.

² Published officially in the *Quebec Gazette* of October 4, 1764, p. 1.

³ Compare the fine of £100 later imposed by the ordinance of March 29, 1777, 'If any person whatsoever shall, after the publication of this ordinance, for lucre or gain, by any art, ways, or means, clip, wash, round, file, impair, diminish, or falsify, or cause to be clipped, washed, rounded, filed, impaired, diminished, or falsified, any coin passing current in this province'. This of course included

Spanish colonial coin.

⁴ Thus the ordinance of 1777, quoted above, makes no mention of cutting. Cf. F. Pridmore in *Num. Circ.* 67 (1959) 118 on deliberately underweight cut half dollars of Tortola; and in *Num. Circ.* 71 (1963) 26-7 and 72 (1964) 4-5 on fraudulent cuts.

⁵ E.g., Adam Shortt, 'The History of Canadian Currency, Banking and Exchange', in *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association* 7 (1899-1900) 214; Adam Shortt ed., 'Currency and Banking, 1760-1841', in *Canada and its Provinces* IV (1914) 601. Shortt's engaging books and articles form a first rate introduction to Canadian life during the country's development.

Dollar was produced on Prince Edward Island: the central area was punched out of a group of Spanish colonial eight *reales*.¹ But the simple division of coin by cutting has not been proved for Canada from the artifacts themselves. Nor could it ever be without the discovery of new documentary evidence, for the reason that the pieces would not have been counterstamped.

Privately cut halves and quarters of the eight *reales* without counterstamp have been attributed to Barbados in the 18th century, and the quarter is attested in Dominica in 1798.² Since anyone can cut a coin no given cut piece can be proved Barbadian if it is without counterstamp; conversely, an uncounterstamped piece found elsewhere might have been Barbadian in origin. At the very least, however, the discovery of cut pieces in a given *locus* can be evidence of their circulation there, if not of their origin.

The difficulty lies in discovering them. That cut coins are offered for sale in Canada today is obviously of no significance. What we need is a certain find of proved antiquity. Such a find has occurred in Canada, but its importance has apparently gone unnoticed. The site is the ruined village of Fairfield in southwestern Ontario, about 70 miles ENE of Detroit and 50 miles SW of London. Fairfield was a settlement of Delaware Indians, refugees from the United States, and the Moravian missionaries who had converted them to Christianity. They had wandered for some 50 years, founding a series of settlements which successively had to be abandoned. Finally coming to Canada they were given land by the government, and they founded Fairfield in 1792. The town lay on the north bank of the Thames, at an easy landing, and on the highway to Detroit. It soon developed into a settled and prosperous agricultural community.

During the War of 1812 an American force under William Henry Harrison penetrated southwestern Ontario, to win a considerable victory at the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. The British and Indians were thrown back, and the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, was killed. Fairfield lay just to the east of the battlefield. It was reached by the Americans on the next day, thoroughly plundered of whatever its inhabitants had had to leave behind in their flight, and on October 7 deliberately burned to the ground.

The inhabitants had fled further east. When they returned after the war they founded New Fairfield, on the south side of the Thames, where their descendants live still today. The first town was never rebuilt (nothing would have remained but foundations), the original site lying undisturbed and eventually forgotten. In 1941 local interest in the history of the area, incited by the recognition of a few random traces of human habitation, led to the rediscovery of Fairfield and its excavation by Wilfrid Jury of the Museum of Indian Archaeology of the University of Western Ontario, London.³ The artifacts recovered in the excavation are today on display in the small museum on the site.

Among the rather fragmentary remains of the objects of everyday life were found a very few coins—only four random pieces have been noted in the publications.⁴ Doubtless the inhabitants took most of their money with them. One coin found, and hitherto unpublished, is the quarter part of a Spanish colonial eight *reales*. A bit of the imperial portrait and coat of arms can be seen; the remaining legends read, on the obverse,]LUS·III·[, and on the reverse,]·HISPA[. The original coin then was a bust type eight *reales* of Charles III, issued between

¹ F. Pridmore in *Num. Circ.* 68 (1960) 233–5, 263–4, with some corrections to F. Bowman and H. R. Stewart, 'The Prince Edward Island and other Holey Dollars', in *Canadian Numismatic Journal* 5 (1960) 178–185.

² F. Pridmore in *Num. Circ.* 71 (1963) 203–205 and 68 (1960) 28–30, each with illustrations.

³ The excavation reports of Wilfrid Jury, including a précis of the history of the town upon which I have drawn, were published as *Museum Bulletin* 3 (1945), 4 (1946), and 5 (1948).

⁴ Viz., a Russian 2 *kopek* of 1757, an English halfpenny of 1775, an English penny of 1794, and a U.S. half cent of 1807.

1772 and 1789. The mint of the coin as originally struck was probably Mexico, the main Spanish colonial mint in North America. The cut quarter was chisel cut, and lacks any counter-stamp or elaborated edge which might identify its origin as fraction. The condition is what the dealers would call Very Fine, i.e. showing some even wear, with all details clear.

This cut piece was discovered 'in a cellar of one of the houses at a 6 foot depth.'¹ Typically the cellars have been the chief source of discovery of small artifacts at Fairfield; all the published coins from Fairfield were cellar finds. The superstructure of the log houses would have been plundered, then burned, the remains collapsing into the foundations. These were picked over by the returning community and thereafter left to natural or agricultural erosion. At the time of the invasion the cellars normally contained various kinds of objects not worth stealing—implements, food, seeds—and unrecoverable or not worth recovering after the destruction of the town. These were buried under the débris of the superstructures, as the excavations have plainly shown.

There is then no question about the date of use of the cut piece. We have the happy combination of an archaeologically sealed site and a sure knowledge of the precise moment of its sealing. Even the classical archaeologists are not usually so fortunate—one thinks at once of Pompeii, but there are not a great many sealed sites that are as certain. The evidence could not be better.

The most likely explanation for the appearance of this piece in Canada is that it was cut there. We know that the coinage in use in the province in the early 19th century was an inadequate, international assortment.² Note the Russian 2 *kopek* bronze also found at Fairfield. The silver coinage especially was in very poor condition, and was unexportable. It is of course not impossible that the cut quarter was cut in the Caribbean: the date would be right for it. But that could rather indicate how widespread was the practice at the time, and the rather good condition of the coin argues against its having travelled so far in the course of normal circulation. In any case what is particularly surprising, and gratifying, is the evidence that cut silver was circulating in Canada at this time, exactly fifty years after the ordinance that was supposed to outlaw this kind of money forever.

¹ The circumstances of the unpublished find were communicated to me *per litteras* by Wilfrid Jury, June 2, 1967.

² James Stevenson, 'The Currency of Canada

after the Capitulation', in *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* new series 12 (1876-7) 122, 125-6. Part of the problem was the lack of a provincial bank.

THE MEDALS OF THE ART UNION OF LONDON

By G. K. BEAULAH

THE Art Union of London was founded in 1837 as a society for fostering interest in the fine arts and, as a side effect, to encourage British artists and manufacturers of decorative wares, whose products at that time were thought to be inferior to similar things made on the continent. The two objects were achieved together by an ingenious scheme, the model for which had been seen working in Germany.

The members paid a subscription of a guinea a year. For this, all received annually a large engraving said to be at least equal in value to their subscription and in addition they had the chance of winning valuable prizes at a yearly 'draw'. Mass-production of the engravings made possible by the new process of facing the plates with steel by electro-plating gave the council of the Art Union a large surplus which went on the purchase of original paintings at London exhibitions, on the manufacture (specially for the Art Union) of 'art objects' such as statuettes, vases and plaques and on the production of the medals here described. In the heyday of the society the money spent on one year's prizes totalled £9,000, then worth at least five times its present value. Painters benefited considerably, and manufacturers such as Copeland, Elkington and the Coalbrookdale Foundry were put on their mettle to produce things good enough to get the Council's approval. The society in fact, during its most influential period, aspired to a role similar to the one performed today by the British Council, the Contemporary Art Society and the Council for Industrial Design.

The 'medallic series of the History of British Art' was planned in 1842, primarily for use as prizes but also to further the society's twofold aim—in this case to revive interest in the medallist's art and to encourage British die-engravers. The SILVER medals, generally to the number of 30 each year, were allotted to winners not qualifying for the more valuable prizes. The same medals in BRONZE were available to any subscriber who might prefer one to the annual engraving. The Secretary's own annotated copies of the printed Annual Reports of the Art Union are in the British Museum and show that most people were satisfied to accept the engraving and that relatively few wrote in for bronze medals. In later years stock remaining was offered for sale to any member, and was gradually disposed of. In their best year, 1876, the membership stood at over 20,000; so in spite of the relatively few applicants, some hundreds of bronze medals would be distributed. Silver medals from existing dies were issued in some years when no new medal had been struck; for example there were issued in 1850 thirty silver medals at the choice of the prizewinners; in 1852 twenty-five sets of the five previous medals; in 1856 forty of Flaxman and thirty of Vanbrugh; in 1857 twenty of Flaxman; in 1873 six of Etty. 'Six of Etty' rather looks as though these were all that were left. In 1866 a complete set of medals, then numbering sixteen, was presented by the Council to the Royal Academy. Those medals were in bronze, which can perhaps be taken as a pointer that the silver medals were rather strictly confined to the 30 annual prizewinners whose names and addresses are printed in the Reports, year by year. The weight of the silver medals is 3½ oz. more or less.

A reason given in 1842 for the desirability of promoting the medals was that, through insufficient work, native die engravers were a dying race; and to justify their policy some

years later a member of the council said that in 1858 when the Government wanted a national medal 'they had to go to a foreigner to produce the work by another process'. Having decided to proceed, William Wyon, R.A., chief engraver at the Royal Mint, was called in for advice. He reckoned that £100 would pay for the dies for their first medal and offered to start the series with one of Sir Francis Chantrey the sculptor. W. Wyon was an engraver who evidently was very far from being under-employed, since he took four years to deliver the first medal. Other engravers also were dilatory, and a vexed Secretary must often have reflected that such independence was not what he had expected from a depressed craft.

The Art Union's last commission was placed with Alfred Gilbert (later R.A. and Knight) for a medal to commemorate the jubilee of the Art Union as well as that of the Queen. Although 1887 was the date of this last medal, the Report of 1894 lists twenty-five names 'entitled each to a silver medal' while the last mention of medals occurs in 1895 when twenty persons received 'a medal', by which time subscribers were down to below 5,000. The last two mentions, we may surmise, could have been the last of their stock of medals from all earlier dies. The Art Union of London was wound up following a resolution passed in 1912.

The council of the Art Union seems to have ordered the medals from the die engraver, and the striking and delivery of them would be his responsibility. Mrs. J. S. Martin of the British Museum and Mr. Anthony Gunstone of the Birmingham City Museum independently suggested that the Royal Mint was a likely place of manufacture. In response to an enquiry by Mrs. Martin, Mr. G. P. Dyer of the Royal Mint kindly examined a manuscript notebook of private commissions accepted by the Chief Engraver and found that 80 medals had been struck for the Art Union in June 1848 and 81 in November of the same year. The only other mention was of 18 being struck in July 1850. W. Wyon was then Chief Engraver, and the 1848 entry probably refers to medals of Hogarth undertaken by his son, L. C. Wyon. The work in 1850 would be for meeting the demands of subscribers who had been offered medals from earlier dies—it would appear that the Art Union found themselves a few short.

It was the privilege of the Chief Engraver to use the Mint machinery for private commissions. That post was held throughout the period of the Art Union medals by the two Wyons, father and son. The father had been instrumental in launching the series, and the son would be well disposed towards it for sentimental as well as for business reasons. Three other members of the family who made the Art Union medals would have access to the Mint through their successively holding the office of Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals. Until more information turns up, therefore, it is tempting to think that more of the medals emanated from the Royal Mint than are mentioned in the notebook. That of Barry (1862) by L. and J. Wiener can be excepted. It is a larger size and of a different patina, compared with the rest, and may have been struck by Elkington & Co. of Birmingham, who in 1861 produced five medals of English cathedrals of the same diameter, the dies of which were by Wiener. A list of these and other die engravers will be found subjoined.

As works of art these medals would be condemned by some because the subjects on the reverse are borrowed ones. However, the promoters thought that to show an example of the work of the man commemorated outweighed that consideration, and indeed their choice did afford the diesinkers maximum scope for their superlative technical skill, and that we may enjoy, together with the expertise of the medallists in achieving flawless high relief and excellent colouring. With ample funds the Art Union engaged the best die engravers and for the most part succeeded in the aim avowed—when the project was first mooted—to promote 'dignified simplicity of composition . . . calm expression . . . purity and correctness

PLATES

THE MEDALS OF THE ART UNION OF
LONDON



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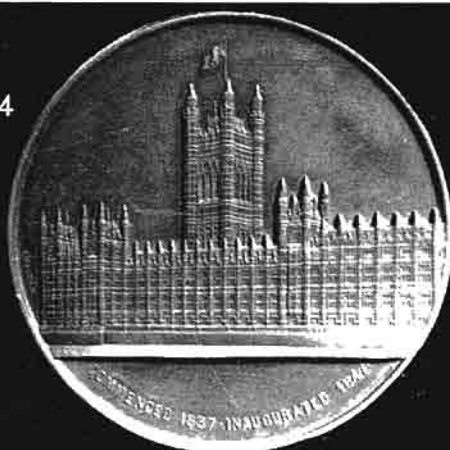




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of drawing, and severe beauty of form'. Only two of the medals exhibit reverses designed by the die engraver or modeller for this specific purpose, namely No. 7, Wyon, who follows the Greek ideal; and No. 30, Gilbert, who with a characteristic design, a sort of neo-Baroque, foreshadows Art Nouveau. The last medal is a faithful pantograph reduction of the original wax model with no attempt to conceal unevenness of surface. All the rest, including the Wyon, while using the pantograph for the main cavities, are finished by hand engraving, by the punch, chisel and hone to achieve that degree of perfection then considered essential. Of the portraits on the obverse, fifteen were painters, seven were sculptors, six were architects and there was one die engraver (W. Wyon). Twelve of the twenty-nine historical medals were issued within a decade of their subject's deaths; and the rest were in honour of figures such as Wren, Hogarth, etc., whose reputations had already stood the test of time.

The following medals are illustrated in the Annual Reports:—Wren, Chantrey, Hogarth, Inigo Jones, Flaxman, Wyon. The engravings were produced by a forgotten process on a machine called the Anaglyptograph, which was operated by tracing across the surface of the actual medal in a series of parallel tracks. An etching needle at the other end of a pivoted arm produced a kind of contour map.

Because of uncertainty arising chiefly from the blank years when no medal was issued, it has not been established definitely until now how many medals comprised the series. Medals have been listed as 'Art Union' which were not; and medals of this series which had escaped having Art Union of London stamped on the edge have not been recognised as belonging to it. Perhaps because of this lack of certainty few complete sets have been assembled. There is none, as far as I know, in any public collection. The only one, in fact, that I have heard of has been completed quite recently by a member of this Society, Mr. Tom Stainton.

Of the photographs, the British Museum has contributed Bacon, Westmacott and Cox; the Fitzwilliam, Scott; the Ashmolean, Dyce and Leslie; the rest are from medals in the author's incomplete collection.

The numerical order is that of dates on the medals, not the order of issue.

Descriptive scheme is as follows:—

- (a) Name and date on medal
- (b) All inscriptions
- (c) Size
- (d) Portrait on the obverse with a biographical note
- (e) Subject of the reverse
- (f) Circumstances of the issue.

The author wishes to thank Mrs. J.S. Martin of the British Museum; Mr. Anthony Thompson of the Ashmolean; Mr. Graham Pollard of the Fitzwilliam, and in particular Mr. Anthony Gunstone of the Birmingham City Museum for valuable advice and information.

1. CHANTREY (1843) *Obv.*: CHANTREY SCULPTOR ET ARTIUM FACTOR W: WYON. *R.A.*: FEC: *Rev.*: On plinth, WATT; in exergue, FRANCIS CHANTREY OPUS. W. WYON. *R.A.*: FEC. 1846. On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1843. (Some specimens have nothing on the edge). *Diam.*: 55 mm. The profile looking right, portrays Sir Francis Chantrey (1781–1842), donor of the Chantrey Bequest, a noted sculptor, who was among the first to depart from the frozen classicism fashionable in the early 19th century. The reverse subject shows Chantrey's sculptured memorial to James Watt in Handsworth Church, Birmingham.

This was the first medal planned by the Art Union and was intended for issue in 1843 when allotment was made of silver medals to 30 prizewinners. In that year however, when asked about progress, Wyon could only report that he had completed the plaster model, which, to reassure prizewinners, was exhibited

along with other prizes of the year in 1843. 1844, Wyon reported delay due to pressure of work for the Government on the Indian campaign medals. 1845, Council still unable to get Wyon to complete. 1846, after five dies had cracked in hardening a pair of sound ones were at last obtained. 1847, issued to the prizewinners of 1843.

2. REYNOLDS (1845). *Obv.*: REYNOLDS: STOTHARD (on neck). *Rev.*: ART UNION OF LONDON 1845. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 58 mm. The profile head, looking left, is from the bust now in the vestibule of the Royal Academy. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) was the first President of the Royal Academy. The reverse represents 'The Infant Hercules', after one of Reynolds' paintings, 10 ft. square, then (1845) in the Imperial Collection at St. Petersburg 'in deplorable condition'.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1845, distributed 1846.

3. WREN (1846). *Obv.*: WREN: WILSON SC. *Rev.*: CHRISTOPHER WREN ARCHITECT MDCCX. In exergue: SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE. B. WYON S. On the edge: ART UNION OF LONDON 1846. Diam.: 57.7 mm. The portrait, looking to right, depicts Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), architect responsible for the design of many of London's public buildings after the Great Fire. The reverse subject, St. Paul's Cathedral, was considered at the time to be 'one of the most successful medallic representations of a building ever executed'.¹

Thirty medals were allotted in 1846. In 1847 it was reported that work had not been completed because of illness of Wilson. In 1848 work was still in abeyance, so was given to B. Wyon. In 1849 work was further delayed through cracks appearing in both dies after a few medals had been struck, which rendered them unfit for further use. 1850, medals distributed. The medal in the author's set shows a crack. The explanation may be that the crack became worse and that the medals not too badly marked were distributed. The sum allocated for medals this year was £200, presumably to cover both engraving and striking.

4. HOGARTH (1848). *Obv.*: HOGARTH. Signed L. WYON. *Rev.*: HE THROUGH THE EYE CORRECTS THE HEART. In exergue: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1848. On plinth: HOGARTH DES. L. WYON SC. Nothing on the edge. Diam. 54.6 mm.

The bust, looking right, is after a sculpture by Roubilliac. William Hogarth (1697-1764) is the first considerable *genre* painter of the truly English School. The reverse shows a scene from Hogarth's painting 'The Election'. Two rival canvassers are soliciting a voter.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted to prizewinners in 1848.

5. INIGO JONES (1849). *Obv.*: INIGO JONES, C. F. CARTER F. *Rev.*: In exergue: BANQUETING HOUSE WHITEHALL 1616. Unsigned. On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1849. Diam.: 54 mm. The bust, looking left, portrays Inigo Jones (1576-1651), architect. He brought to England the designs of the Italian Palladio and started the taste for imitative styles which has lasted until recently.

Thirty medals in silver allotted to winners of 1849; but in 1851 they were still undelivered 'delayed by other engagements'. 1852 distributed to winners.

6. FLAXMAN (1854). *Obv.*: FLAXMAN. HENRY WEIGALL SC. *Rev.*: H. WEIGALL FECIT On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1854. Diam.: 56 mm. The profile bust, looking left, depicts John Flaxman, R.A. (1755-1826), sculptor, but foremost a designer in the neo-grecian mode of his day. He had a great influence on artistic ideals, which lingers in corners even now. The reverse shows a bas-relief of Flaxman's 'Mercury and Pandora'. Designed as one of a series of illustrations for Hesiod's *Works and Days* it was the only one of the series ever modelled. A cast of the 3 ft. roundel is at Castle Howard, Yorkshire, and an engraving of it appears in the *Art Union Journal* of 1848, p. 52.

This medal was intended for issue in 1847 when it had been in the hands of the engraver, W. Wilson, for some time and when the thirty prizewinners were notified of their silver medals to be forthcoming soon. In 1848 they were still undelivered and winners were given the option of either Chantrey or Reynolds instead. In 1849 the Council lost patience and turned the work over to W. Wyon. In 1851 Wyon reported that the work had been delayed by an accident. Later in the year he died, so the work was given to Henry Weigall. Since the dies are signed Weigall it seems as though no useful progress had been made by the others. In 1854 thirty new prizewinners were allotted this medal and received it the same year. Presumably most of the thirty in 1847 had had to be satisfied with the alternative offers.

7. WYON (1854). *Obv.*: WILLIAM WYON R.A. Signed L. C. WYON. *Rev.*: in exergue: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1854 W. WYON R.A. DES. L. C. WYON SC. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 55.7 mm. The profile head and shoulders on the obverse, looking right, portrays William Wyon, R.A. (1795-1851). He was the most notable of the family of die engravers connected with the Royal Mint and was Chief Engraver from

¹ *Art Journal* 1850 p. 191.

1824 until his death. The reverse subject of Britannia driving four sea-horses was designed by W. Wyon and is, with No. 30, alone of the series specifically intended for a medal. The original wax model, in tinted wax on slate, is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The medal was commissioned in the year of Wyon's death, 1851. Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1855.

8. VANBRUGH (1855). *Obv.*: SIR JOHN VANBRUGH. BENJ. WYON SC. *Rev.*: In exergue: BLENHEIM BENJ. WYON SC. On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1855. Diam.: 55 mm. The obverse shows a three-quarter bust. Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726) was the architect of Blenheim, continuing the Palladian style introduced by Inigo Jones—a style more concerned with effect than with convenience. The reverse shows the central block of Blenheim Palace.

The medal was commissioned in 1853; thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1856.

9. CHAMBERS (1857). *Obv.*: CHAMBERS 1725-1796. B. WYON AFTER WESTMACOTT. *Rev.*: SOMERSET HOUSE 1781 SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS R.A. ARCHITECT. Signed B. WYON. On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1857. Diam.: 55.2 mm. The profile head, looking right, is after a bust by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A. (See medal No. 18). Sir William Chambers (1726-1796), architect, was a foundation member of the Royal Academy, and was the architect of Somerset House which is represented on the reverse.

The medal was commissioned with L. C. Wyon in 1855 but was passed over to his second cousin, B. Wyon. Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1857, together with twenty of Flaxman.

10. BANKS (1858). *Obv.*: THOMAS BANKS R.A. L. C. WYON F. *Rev.*: In exergue: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1858. On the plinth T. BANKS R.A. SC. L.C. WYON F. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 54.6 mm. The head-and-shoulders in profile, looking left, is based on a drawing by George Dance, R.A. Thomas Banks, R.A. (1735-1805), sculptor, has been called 'an apostle of perfect craftsmanship'. The reverse shows part of the decoration of the tomb of Sir Eyre Coote.

This medal was commissioned with B. Wyon in 1855 but was completed by L. C. Wyon. It would appear that they exchanged jobs (see No. 9 above). Thirty-two medals in silver were allotted in 1858.

11. GAINSBOROUGH (1859). *Obv.*: T. GAINSBOROUGH R.A. BORN 1727. DIED 1789. E. ORTNER FEC. *Rev.*: E. ORTNER FECIT. On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1859. Diam.: 54.5 mm. The head-and-shoulders looking left is based on a portrait by Zoffany. Thomas Gainsborough was a landscape painter by inclination but best known for his fine portraits. The reverse of this medal, 'The wood-gatherers', is a detail from one of his paintings now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The medal was commissioned with Henry Weigall in 1855, completed by E. Ortner 1858. Thirty in silver were allotted in 1859.

12. LAWRENCE (1860). *Obv.*: LAWRENCE. G. G. ADAMS F. *Rev.*: ART UNION OF LONDON. 1860. On the plinth: WELLINGTON. In exergue: G. G. ADAMS F. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 56 mm. The head, looking left, is after a bust by E. H. Baily, R.A. Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), President of the Royal Academy, spread the fame of the English School of portraiture throughout Europe. The reverse shows the Duke of Wellington, full length, from a Lawrence portrait.

The medal was commissioned with C. F. Carter in 1853, who however failed to make progress. It was transferred to G. G. Adams in 1859 who completed successfully. Thirty silver medals were allotted in 1860.

13. WILKIE (1861). *Obv.*: SIR DAVID WILKIE R.A. 1785-1841. LEONARD C. WYON FEC. *Rev.*: In the exergue: ART UNION OF LONDON 1861 WILKIE DES. L. C. WYON F. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 54.9 mm. The profile head-and-shoulders, looking right, is a portrait of Sir David Wilkie who achieved fame as a painter of village life. The reverse of this medal shows part of his picture, 'The Rent Day'.

The dies were commissioned in 1859. Thirty silver medals were allotted in 1861.

14. BARRY (1862). *Obv.*: SIR C. BARRY R.A. ARCHITECT. ART-UNION OF LONDON. Signed LEOPOLD WIENER. *Rev.*: COMMENCED 1837. INAUGURATED 1847. Signed J. WIENER. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 59.5 mm. The profile bust, looking to right, portrays Sir Charles Barry (1795-1850) who was one of the last exponents of the classical revival. The reverse shows the Houses of Parliament, his principal work.

Thirty silver medals were issued in 1862.

15. BACON (1864). *Obv.*: I. BACON R.A. 1740-1799 J. S. WYON SC. *Rev.*: SAMUEL JOHNSON: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1864. J. S. WYON F. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 55 mm. The profile head and shoulders, looking to right, portrays John Bacon, R.A., a monumental sculptor of high repute. The reverse depicts Bacon's statue of Samuel Johnson.

The commission for this medal was placed with J. S. Wyon as early as 1850. There were reports of progress, or the lack of it, in 1860 and 1863. Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1864.

16. WEST (1866). *Obv.*: WEST 1738-1820 Signed W. WILSON. *Rev.*: 1759. WILSON LONDON. On the edge: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1866. Diam.: 54.8 mm. The profile head, looking to left, portrays Benjamin West R.A. West was born in Pennsylvania and came to London in 1763, becoming President of the Royal Academy in 1792. He was the most successful of the 'History Painters'. The reverse shows the central group from his picture 'The death of Wolfe at Quebec'.

W. Wilson was working on the dies in 1863. One hundred silver medals were allotted in 1866.

17. DYCE (1867). *Obv.*: DYCE 1806-1864 G. G. ADAMS F. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1867 G. G. ADAMS F. Nothing on edge. Diam. 57 mm. The profile head, looking left, portrays William Dyce, R.A., who was largely instrumental in setting up a national system of art training in this country. The reverse shows a detail from one of his paintings, 'The Good Shepherd'.

The medal was commissioned with G. G. Adams in 1866. Thirty silver medals were allotted in 1867.

18. WESTMACOTT (1868). *Obv.*: SIR RICHARD WESTMACOTT R.A. 1775-1856. R. WESTMACOTT (IUN) R.A. MOD. L. C. WYON SCULP. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1868. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 55 mm. The head and shoulders, looking to right, was from a model by Westmacott's son. Sir Richard Westmacott, a sculptor of rigid classical persuasion, has five works in Westminster Abbey: six in St. Paul's. The reverse of this medal shows his group 'Charity' (engraved in the *Art Journal* for 1859, p. 312).

30 silver medals issued to prizewinners in 1868.

19. LESLIE (1870). *Obv.*: C. R. LESLIE R.A. BORN 1794 DIED 1859 ART UNION OF LONDON 1870. A. B. WYON SC. *Rev.*: THE SENTRY BOX Nothing on edge. Size 55 mm. The profile head, looking to right, portrays C. R. Leslie, R.A. (1794-1859). He spent his early years in America, arriving in London in 1811, and specialised in the painting of scenes from literature. The reverse of this medal, 'The Sentry Box', depicts a scene from *Tristram Shandy*.

The dies were commissioned in 1866. Thirty in silver were allotted on completion in 1871.

20. ETTY (1872). *Obv.*: ETTY 1787-1849 G.G. ADAMS SC. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON. 1872. G. G. ADAMS SC. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 56.9 mm. The profile head, looking left, is based on a self-portrait in the Manchester City Art Gallery. William Etty spent his whole working life in mastering the subtleties of modelling and colour in painting the nude. The reverse shows his work 'Venus and Cupid descending' (See Farr *William Etty*, pl. 18).

Thirty silver medals were allotted in 1872; six more in 1873.

21. GIBSON (1874). *Obv.*: JOHN GIBSON R.A. 1789-1866. J. S. WYON SC. *Rev.*: ART UNION OF LONDON 1874. J. GIBSON R.A. J. S. WYON SC. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 55.1 mm. The profile head, looking left, portrays John Gibson, R.A. Gibson's sculptured works include, among many others, the monuments to George Stephenson and Sir Robert Peel in Westminster Abbey. The reverse of this medal shows his group 'Grecian Hunter and his dog'. In 1851 this group was exhibited at the Crystal Palace by its then owner Lord Yarborough.

The dies were commissioned in 1866. Thirty silver medals were allotted in 1874.

22. ROBERTS (1875). *Obv.*: DAVID ROBERTS. R.A. 1796-1864 G. MORGAN SC. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1875. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 56.4 mm. The profile head, looking left, portrays David Roberts, a painter of architectural subjects and near-eastern scenes, such as the Moorish scribe with seated female figure on the reverse of this medal.

The medal was decided on in 1865. Commissioned with G. Morgan ('a young sculptor and die engraver') in 1873, thirty silver medals were allotted in 1875. It is a matter of interest that of the thirty winners eight were resident overseas—an indication of the Art Union's wide field.

23. TURNER (1876). *Obv.*: JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER R.A. 1775-1851. L.C. WYON FEC. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1876. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 55.1 mm. The head and shoulders in profile, looking to left, is from a drawing by Charles Turner. J. M. W. Turner has been named as England's finest painter. The reverse of this medal is a detail from his painting 'The Fighting Temeraire being towed to her last berth'.

Thirty silver medals were allotted in 1876.

24. MULREADY (1877). *Obv.*: MULREADY 1786-1863 On the neck: G. G. ADAMS SC. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1877. G. G. ADAMS SC. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 55.3 mm. The profile head, looking left, portrays William Mulready, R.A., a painter of landscapes and figure subjects. The reverse depicts a detail from one of his pictures 'The Haymakers'.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1877.

25. MACLISE (1878). *Obv.*: DANIEL MACLISE R.A. B. 1811 D. 1870. ART UNION OF LONDON 1878. A. B. WYON SC. *Rev.*: D. MACLISE R.A. PINXIT. A. B. WYON SC. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 55.2 mm. The

profile head-and-shoulders, looking left portrays Daniel Maclise, a painter of *genre* best known for his picture 'The death of Nelson'. The reverse of this medal shows a part of his painting, 'The Play Scene from Hamlet'.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1878. A bronze medal in the Birmingham City Museum has the number 398 stamped on the edge. This medal may have been the 'office copy', bearing a note of the number struck.

26. COX (1879). *Obv.*: DAVID COX. G. MORGAN F. *Rev.*: In exergue: ART UNION OF LONDON 1879. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 57 mm. The head and shoulders portrait is from a painting by Sir John Watson Gordon, P.R.S.A. David Cox, (1783-1859), was a renowned painter in water-colour. The subject on the reverse is a scene from one of his paintings 'Returning from market'.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1881.

27. STOTHARD (1880). *Obv.*: STOTHARD 1755-1834 L. C. WYON F. *Rev.*: In exergue: ART UNION OF LONDON 1880. T. STOTHARD R.A. DES. L. C. WYON SC. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 55.3 mm. The bust, looking to right, portrays Thomas Stothard, who chiefly practised as a designer and illustrator. The reverse depicts the central group of his painting 'The Canterbury Pilgrims'.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1890. There is no previous mention in the Art Union Annual Reports, and we are unable to account for the delay of ten years.

28. BAILY (1882). *Obv.*: E. H. BAILY R.A. 1788-1867. Signed A. B. WYON. *Rev.*: ART-UNION OF LONDON 1882. Signed A. B. WYON. Nothing on the edge. Diam.: 55.2 mm. The profile head, looking to the left, portrays E. H. Baily R.A., a sculptor of mythical and biblical subjects. The reverse of this medal depicts his statue 'Eve at the Fountain' which won for Baily an award 'for the best specimen of native sculpture' in 1823 (engraved in *The Art Union Journal* 1848, p. 320).

29. SCOTT (1884). *Obv.*: SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT R.A. 1811-1878 G.G. ADAMS SC. *Rev.*: ART UNION OF LONDON 1884 EDINBURGH. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 57 mm. The profile head, looking to left, portrays Sir George Gilbert Scott, one of the chief architects of the Gothic revival. The reverse of this medal depicts his design for St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh, opened in 1879. The western towers shown on the medal were not however built until 1917.

Thirty medals in silver were allotted in 1884.

30. QUEEN VICTORIA (1887). *Obv.*: VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND & EMPRESS OF INDIA. At base of bust: ANN. IVBIL. 1887. *Rev.*: ART SAILLETH THOUGH LIFE FAILETH. ART UNION OF LONDON 1837-1887. Nothing on edge. Diam.: 63 mm. The reverse subject shows a winged figure testing the direction of the wind standing on the stern-castle of an ancient ship, symbolising Art. Sir Alfred Gilbert, R.A. 1854-1934, was Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy and among many other works modelled the statue EROS. This medal is not signed, perhaps because Gilbert felt that its main purpose was to commemorate the two jubilees and not, as in the case of the other medals, to exhibit a sample of named work.

Thirty medals in silver and forty in bronze were allotted. The same number in the two metals were also allotted as prizes in 1888.

THE DIE ENGRAVERS OF THE ART UNION MEDALS

G. G. ADAMS	(1821-1898)	Lawrence, Dyce, Etty, Mulready, Scott
C. F. CARTER	b. 1805	Inigo Jones
SIR ALFRED GILBERT, R.A.	(1854-1934)	Jubilee Medal
G. MORGAN	b. 1845	Roberts, Cox
E. ORTNER		Gainsborough
A. J. STOTHARD	(1793-1864)	Reynolds
HENRY WEIGALL	(1800-1883)	Flaxman
JAKUES WIENER	(1815-1899)	Barry
LEOPOLD WIENER	(1823-1891)	Barry
W. WILSON		West, Wren
A. B. WYON	(1837-1884)	Leslie, Maclise, Baily
B. WYON	(1802-1858)	Wren, Vanbrugh, Chambers
J. S. WYON	(1836-1873)	Gibson, Bacon
L. C. WYON	(1826-1891)	Hogarth, Wyon, Banks, Wilkie, Westmacott, Turner, Stothard
W. WYON R.A.	(1795-1851)	Chantrey

THE TOKENS OF THOMAS HOLLOWAY

By R. C. BELL



Obverse.—The bust of Thomas Holloway facing left, with J. MOORE on the truncation. Legend:—PROFESSOR HOLLOWAY LONDON.

Reverse.—Hygeia with flowing hair seated between two pedestals and facing right, with her right foot resting on a stool. The pedestal on the left is surmounted by an orb and that on the right by a flame. A serpent is climbing up this pedestal and drinking out of a cup held in Hygeia's left hand. On the ground at the right are the diesinker's initials, J.M. Legend:—HOLLOWAY'S PILLS AND OINTMENT' with 1857 in the exergue.

Edge:—Plain.

A similar halfpenny-sized piece was issued the same year and the pair, illustrated above, were reissued in 1858 with the new date in the exergue. (Samuel Nos. 298, 299, 302, 303 and Atkins Nos. 347, 348, 349, 350.)

The diesinker, J. Moore of Birmingham, was a skilled craftsman of whom Timmins in his *Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, London, 1866, p. 565, wrote:—'Mr. Joseph Moore of Summer-lane, is at the head of his profession; and as an artist and medallist is hardly surpassed by the best of his predecessors, either in power of design or spirit and skill of execution.'

These pieces have been regarded by some as medals, but they bear the name of the issuer, are dated, and were used as currency in London; though the majority were sent to Australia where they are regarded as having formed part of the early currency of the colony. They were noted in Stainfield's *Catalogue of Australian Tokens*, and also by Atkins in his *Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, 1889, p. 381 under Miscellaneous. He noted that one of the penny pieces in his collection was countermarked THOMAS agent GEELONG.

The proprietor of these pieces, Thomas Holloway, was born in 1800 in Devonport, the son of a baker. The family moved soon afterwards to Cornwall and Thomas went to school in Camborne and then in Penzance, where his widowed mother and his brother ran a grocer's shop. In 1828 Thomas went to London to seek his fortune and spent some years in France before setting up in London as a merchant and agent. He bought the patent of a herb ointment from an Italian and persuaded the senior surgeon of the Middlesex Hospital to use it and to recommend its virtues. In 1837 Holloway advertised it extensively, but the cost of newspaper space exceeded his profits and he was confined to Whitecross Street prison for debt. On release he paid his creditors in full with an additional 10% for their trouble.

In 1840 he married Jane Driver, the daughter of a Rotherhithe shipwright, and started making laxative pills, mainly of castor oil and ginger. He and his wife worked from four in the morning till ten at night; Holloway himself taking his pills down to the docks to sell them to emigrants as a remedy against constipation on the long voyages in sailing ships. The pair lived very frugally over their shop, eventually moving to New Oxford Street. He advertised extensively in many languages; in 1842 the bill was £5,000, but by the end of his life it had risen to £50,000 per year.

Several shrewd speculations prospered and by 1870 he was the owner of valuable estates in Surrey and was able to finance two large philanthropic projects; the first a Sanatorium for insane patients from the professional classes. Thomas and his brother-in-law, Martin-Holloway, visited many mental hospitals in England and America, seeking ideas. In the new institution each patient had a room of his own and the public rooms were large, light and well furnished; concepts for the treatment of mental illness a hundred years ahead of the then current practice.

Holloway sponsored an architectural competition for the building, the winning designs being supplied by William Henry Crossland and John Philpot Jones, the latter dying soon afterwards; Crossland bore the main burden of supervising its construction (1871-85). In all Thomas Holloway gave some £300,000 towards the Holloway Sanatorium, Virginia Water. Before it was finished he had turned to a greater project as a memorial to his wife. In those days women had little chance of entering a University and Thomas proposed to build a College for Women at Egham, Surrey. He employed Crossland as his architect and sent him to study the French château of Chambord which served as a prototype for the Royal Holloway College, though the latter was much larger, formed of a double quadrangle 500 feet from east to west and 350 feet from north to south. The longer blocks contained sitting rooms and bedrooms for each of the 350 students and each group of six students shared a common room. Few alterations have been made to the interior furnishings of the college, and the elaborate interdenominational chapel is a late Victorian masterpiece, with its gilded ironwork, ivory-coloured reliefs on the sculptured ceilings, hanging lamps, painted walls and carved stalls of dark wood. Such was Holloway's trust in his architect that he only made four visits during the four and a half years that Crossland spent on the site. The building was of red brick and Portland stone, with numerous sculptures by Fucigna.

Holloway spent over £32,000 for the college picture gallery, collecting works by such artists as Frith, Landseer, Millais and Copley Fielding; all of whom after a period of neglect are beginning to be appreciated for their true worth. In all this kindly and far-sighted man gave more than a million pounds to charity, gifts which have increased twenty fold in the intervening years. He died in 1883 and lies buried beneath a classic tomb of red granite in Sunninghill churchyard, but when his stone has crumbled the features of this Victorian individualist will remain on his tokens and his true greatness survive in generations of educated women.

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ADDENDUM

While this article was in the press Mr. W. Slayter kindly lent the writer a copy of the *New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, Vol. II, No. 39, Feb. 1964; containing the excellent article 'Holloway's Currency Tokens' by L. Gluckman. Holloway's pills contained:—Aloes 36·15%, Powdered ginger 36·15%, Powdered Jalap 12%, Cambogia 12%, and Hard soap 3·7%. They were sugar coated. Aloes, jalap and cambogia are purgatives; ginger causes eructation and relieves spasm of the bowel. The ointment was more complex and contained Lanoline, liquid paraffin, terebinth, yellow beeswax, cetaceum, oil of theobromine, amylmetacresol, rectified oleum picis and phenol. It was sold in pots bearing a portrait of Hygea holding a child, and leaning against a pillar bearing the motto 'Never Despair'.

An advertisement of June 10, 1857, proclaimed Holloway's Pills as the best known remedy in the world for about 35 different diseases from Acne to Weakness from whatever cause.

Such glowing praise carried its own warning. It may be said in the self-styled *Professor's* defence that if the pills did little good, they did little harm; which is unfortunately not true of all medicines; c.f. Ching's Worm Lozenges, Dalton and Hamer, Middlesex 282; Bell, p. 45–6. The recent Thalidomide disaster underlines the possible harmful side reactions of even ethical preparations.

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MISCELLANEA

TWO OVERSTRUCK PENNIES OF ARCHBISHOP PLEGMUND

DURING the latter part of 1966 a Plegmund penny of the moneyer ELFSTAN was purchased by B. A. Seaby Limited.

No previous history of the coin was known (Fig. 1). Certain marks and irregularities on the reverse caused this coin to be subjected to close scrutiny. It was quite obvious that there was considerable evidence of an understrike. By carefully tracing all the visible markings it became evident that the coin had been struck over a Londonia monogram penny of Aelfred. (See Fig. 2, tracing).

This discovery led to a close examination of the Plegmund pence in the British Museum, but no positive evidence of understriking was found.

The general conclusion was that the Aelfred penny was simply an aberrant coin which had somehow got re-struck at the Canterbury (?) mint.

Here matters rested until early 1967 when a large fragment of a Plegmund penny was purchased from A. H. Baldwin & Sons (Fig. 3), also of the moneyer ELFSTAN.

The co-writers of this notice having collaborated on the examination of the first Plegmund penny, quickly found both coins were from the same dies and that the second specimen was overstruck on a St. Eadmund Memorial penny.

Held in the right light the large chevron-barred A was clearly visible together with the remains of the initial cross and the letters *sc* (Fig. 4 tracing). Although the tops of some of the letters are visible on the reverse it has not been possible to name the moneyer.

These two coins are clearly not alone and a searching examination of all Plegmund pence, particularly those of the moneyer ELFSTAN is called for.

Both coins are now available for inspection in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum.

F. BANKS and FRANK PURVEY.

DISPOSITION OF THE CHESTER (1950) HOARD

A RECENT check on the coins in the British Museum and the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, has revealed that the following corrections must be made to the list published in *BNJ* 1953 pp. 138-160.¹

Coins in the British Museum

(Said in report to be in Chester)

60
136
288
466

Coins in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester

(Said in report to be in the British Museum)

135
445
463

Coins not traced

(Said in report to be in Chester)

358
484

Additional coins

Two coins which are housed in the Grosvenor Museum in the cabinet reserved for the coins from the 1950 hoard are not recorded in the report but in all probability belong with the other coins. They are:

EDMUND BMC TYPE I

EADMVNDREX

Rosette of pellets | CENBE | + + + | RHTMō |
Rosette of pellets
21.6 grains

EDRED BMC TYPE IV

EADREDRE

+ | OSLA | three rosettes of pellets | CMō | +
23.6 grains.

M. M. ARCHIBALD.

¹ I am grateful to Mrs. N. E. Valentine, formerly of the Grosvenor Museum, for her help in checking

the coins in Chester and for giving me the details of the two additional coins.



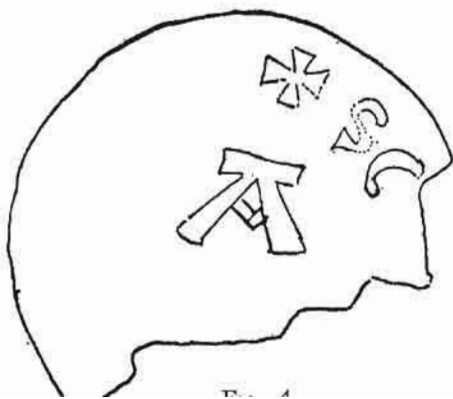
FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



A REDISCOVERED "NEW" MONEYER FOR EADGAR

ON p. 132 of the 3rd (1840) edition of Rogers Ruding's classic *Annals of the Coinage*, the name of an Eadgar moneyer is given as ETFERN. This is doubtless the authority for the italicized entry *Etfern* in the list of Eadgar moneyers on pp. 163 and 164 of the second (1893) volume of the *British Museum Catalogue*. No moneyer of this name, however, was listed by Brooke on p. 63 of his *English Coins* (1932), and the name was not added at the revision of 1950. More recently still, no name Etf or Etfen is given in the list of Eadgar moneyers on pp. 100–104 of J. J. North's *English Hammered Coins* (1963), nor in the Addenda and Corrigenda on p. 194, nor in the supplementary list printed on p. 155 of the 1965 volume of *Spink's Numismatic Circular*. No coin of his is illustrated in the Fitzwilliam, Hunter, Copenhagen, Edinburgh or Ashmolean fascicles of the British Academy's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, and Mr. C. E. Blunt, F.B.A., who for a number of years now has been building up a card-index of Anglo-Saxon pennies based on sale-catalogues as well as other works of reference, informs me that Etf(n) is unknown to him as an Eadgar moneyer, and this despite the fact that he has paid special attention to the coinage of Eadgar. The purpose of this note is to vindicate Ruding. At least one coin of the moneyer Etf(n) does exist, though unfortunately one cannot be certain whether the coin in question is that seen by Ruding—or his authority—or another specimen.

The coin in question [Plate XV, 5] is in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland. It lies at present in the drawer which most closely corresponds to what in the British Museum, during the writer's time there at least, were known as the "Limbo" trays at the end of the Anglo-Saxon series. It is sadly chipped and has a thoroughly unattractive colour, but seems perfectly genuine. The provenance is unrecorded, but much the most likely source is the Royal Irish Academy's cabinet which passed to the Museum some eighty years ago. It is perhaps an Irish find, but the possibility cannot be precluded that it is the specimen that underlies the Ruding entry. The obverse legend reads:—

+E·A·DG·A·RRE·:·+·:

and the reverse:—

∴ | EFFE | +++ | RHĀO | ∴

The die-axis is 90°. Perhaps the most notable feature is the pattern of stops in the obverse legend. It is exactly matched by that recorded for BMC 100, a penny of the same type (*BMC* i var. a = Brooke 1 = North 741) by the moneyer Hereman—unless this is blundered Sedeman—but there is no die-link as I am assured by Mr. Blunt who was kind enough to check casts of the National Museum of Ireland coin against the British Museum specimen. The provenance of BMC 100 is now thought to be the Tiree hoard of 1782, and this is consistent with the impression of a mint in north-eastern England which is given by both the Etf(n) and the Hereman coins. What should be the normalisation of the name of the moneyer of the Etf or Etfen penny is not easy to determine. One might suspect Eadferth, but speculation is probably unprofitable pending the urgently needed re-appraisal of Eadgar's pre-reform coinages as a whole. As a tiro in Anglo-Saxon numismatics, all of sixteen years ago, the present writer drew attention to the elaborate stopping on a number of coins of Eadgar and suggested that they could represent some system of privy-marking, and he remains convinced that an analysis of the different combinations and permutations is eminently desirable. Enough attention will not be given to the almost too common *two-line* pennies of Eadgar, and indeed those of his immediate precursors, until such time as they are generally recognized as falling into well-defined regional and perhaps also chronological groupings. It is a sobering thought that a die-duplicate of the "new" coin of Etf or Etfen in the National Museum at Dublin could well be in some schoolboy's collection, with a provenance going back to the eighteenth century unrecorded because the *two-line* type until quite recently was thought so common as not to warrant separate lotting, let alone illustration. In the meantime, though, there can be little doubt that Etf(n) should be reinstated in the canon of Eadgar *two-line* moneyers, with appropriate annotations on p. 64 of Brooke and on p. 101 of North, and it only remains for the writer to express his thanks to the authorities of the National Museum of Ireland, and in particular to Dr. William O'Sullivan, M.R.I.A., for permission to publish here a coin of no little interest to the Anglo-Saxon specialist.

MICHAEL DOLLEY.

A NOTE ON THE MONEYER BVR(R)ED OF SOUTHWARK AND LONDON MINTS

RECENTLY by pure chance I had the good fortune to discover an unpublished coin of Edward the Confessor (Bvrrred of Southwark) in the cabinet of

the Stockholm Museum and by their courtesy am able to illustrate it (*Pl.* XIV, 16).

Here is a list of coins which I have traced and

which seem relevant to this note:

HARTHACNUT

Coin 1. North 811 (Arm and Sceptre type). Reverse reading 'BRVHRED ON SVÐ' [Hildebrand 183].

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

Coin 2. North 812 (Arm and Sceptre type). Reverse reading 'BV . . . ON SVÐG' [Hildebrand 707, Miss van der Meer confirms this as BVRED—See *Anglo Saxon Coins* page 182].

Coin 3. North 812 (Arm and Sceptre type). Reverse reading '+BVRRED OHHSVÐG' [Carlyon-Britton sale lot 1105, which quotes as Hild. 707].

Coin 4. North 813 (PACX type). Reverse reading 'BVREDON SVÐGE' [Berlin Cabinet].

Coin 5. North 813 (PACX type). Reverse reading 'BVRNR - - -', uncertain mint [BMC 1588]. I am unable to give this to Southwark with any certainty and it is not important to do so.

Coin 6. North 816 (Radiate type). Reverse reading 'BVRED ONN SVÐG' [Stockholm Museum inventory 11300, coin No. 248]. Illustrated this volume, plate XIV, 16.

Coin 7. North 816 (Radiate type). Reverse reading 'BVRRED ON LVND'. [Carlyon-Britton sale

lot 1106]. I have been unable to locate this piece.

Coin 8. North 818 (Small Plan type). Reverse reading 'BVRHRE IOH LVN' [BMC 793, see also Cambridge *Sylloge* No. 841].

Coin 9. North 818 (Small Plan type). Reverse reading 'BVRNREI ON LVN' [Lockett sale lot 801].

Coin 10. North 820 (Expanding Cross type). Reverse reading 'BVRED ON LVND.' [BMC 921].

Coin 11. North 820 (Expanding Cross type). Reverse reading 'BVRED ON LVND.' [Reading University collection (147) ex Argyll].

CONCLUSIONS

If it is accepted that all these coins are by the same moneyer there is a succession of all main types from the Arm and Sceptre type of Harthacnut to the Expanding Cross type of Edward the Confessor, except for the Trefoil Quadrilateral type (North 817).

It would seem that during the issue of the Radiate type he transferred from Southwark to London.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

As a newcomer both to numismatics and the Society I record with sincere thanks the help and encouragement given by fellow members.

A. BYDE.

BEAUWORTH 1833

It is unfortunate that in all the numismatic publications, including Brooke's *B.M.C. Norman Kings*, Vols. I and II, the place name of the great find of Norman pennies in Hampshire in 1833 is wrongly spelt. The correct spelling is Beauworth (pronounced Beuorth).

I recently visited Beauworth which is a tiny village situated about 6 miles to the east of Winchester and 2 miles from Cheriton. The pond into which the boys who found the hoard threw some of the coins is now filled in but a local inhabitant showed me a depression close to the road where it used to be. The Manor house still stands but some of the land belonging to it has been sold and I was unable to trace the pasture land called the Old Litten mentioned by Hawkins in his excellent description of the find published in Vol. 26 of *Archaeologia* and reproduced in Ruding, Vol. I.

The ruins of what must have been the church

or chapel however were plainly visible and by the nature of the ground it is quite obvious that some structure existed there in the past. Portions of what appeared to be a flint wall were showing above the surface of the ground and this was exactly similar to the walls of Cheriton church which I visited later that day.

Tradition has it that certain heads and carved stones were removed from Beauworth to Cheriton in the sixteenth century when Beauworth church was demolished. Certainly there are two carved stone heads, one on either side of Cheriton church porch, which are very much out of keeping with the rest of that structure.

One wonders why the great hoard of Norman coins came to be buried at Beauworth. Was it being taken to or brought from Winchester? We will never know.

R. P. MACK.

A THETFORD PENNY OF STEPHEN TYPE VII

In the *Journal* which draws attention to the important coins of Stephen in the Moscow cabinet it is both appropriate and pleasant to record the recent acquisition by the British Museum of another hitherto unpublished coin of the same reign. It is a Type VII penny of Thetford by the moneyer Hacun

and is said to have been found near Cambridge. (*Pl. XV*, 6). It reads:

Obv.: +S - - - - E:

Rev.: +HACVN - - - EF -

Wt.: 20.8 grains ↑ ↓

Fortunately all the letters of the moneyer's name

HACVN are beyond doubt. Until now this moneyer has been known from only one coin—the Type II of the Thetford mint purchased by the British Museum in 1950 from the executors of the late L. A. Lawrence (*Pl. XV, 7*).¹ This is almost certainly the coin mentioned by Brooke in *BMC*² where he quotes the reading HALUN given in both the sales through which it had passed.³ Although the mint signature on the 'new' coin is not fully legible the remaining letters are sufficiently clear that it too may be attributed with certainty to Thetford. It is only the second known coin in Type VII of this mint.⁴ The other is *BMC* 215 of the moneyer Gefrei (*Pl. XV, 8*) whose obverse die is shared by the 'new' Hacun coin. Of the two the Hacun must

be the earlier striking since the obverse die flaw running from the right hand fleur of the crown is just beginning to show whereas on Gefrei's coin it has spread as far as the letter 'e'. Mr. F. Elmore Jones who has made a detailed study of this type⁵ informs me that this is the only instance known to him of an obverse die being shared by two moneyers but that he thinks this may not be surprising in view of the great rarity of the type. Gefrei is otherwise known only in Type I and Hacun in Type II. As at most other mints there seems to have been a clean sweep of moneyers at Thetford in 1158 and neither Gefrei nor Hacun reappears in Henry II's Tealby issue.

M. M. ARCHIBALD.

AN UNPUBLISHED LONDON FIND OF EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PENNIES

THROUGH the kindness of the American dealer, student and collector Mr. David H. Hess of Baton Rouge, I am able here to put on record fairly full details of an interesting parcel of 26 'Short-cross' pence of King John and of 2 cut halfpence of the same reign, which came to light in the course of excavations consequent on the demolition in 1878 of an old London building. A note on the find originally appeared in Mr. Hess's December 1966 price list⁶, but the descriptions there of no more than a selection of the coins are very abbreviated, and the more detailed account given here has been made possible only by Mr. Hess's characteristic generosity in making available to me his own very full notes on all the coins which passed through his hands. It is the view of both of us that the 28 coins in fact constitute the whole of an until now unpublished find which is of some interest for the serious student of John's English coinages. A list of the find is as follows:—

LAWRENCE CLASS Vb	
<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i> , Fulke	1
<i>Canterbury</i> , Iohan	1
<i>Ipswich</i> , Iohan	1
<i>King's Lynn</i> , Iohan	1
<i>Lincoln</i> , Andreu	1
<i>London</i> , Adam	3
„ Ilger	1
„ Ricard B	1
„ Willelm T	1 + $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Published by R. A. G. Carson in 'The Mint of Thetford', *NC* 1949, p. 230, No. 7 & *Pl. XV, 8*.

² P. cexliii in footnotes containing published readings which he had not been able to check.

³ Sotheby, 25. 1. 1860, lot 127 and E. Burns, Sotheby, 17. 12. 1869, lot 49.

⁴ *BMC* 214, *Pl. LVI, 10*, of the moneyer Driv is of Hereford, not Thetford. See *NC* 1955, p. 243.

LAWRENCE CLASS Vc	
<i>Canterbury</i> Goldwine (?) [*]	— + $\frac{1}{2}$
„ Iohan M	1
<i>Ipswich</i> , Iohan	2
<i>London</i> , Abel	1
„ Adam	1
„ Beneit	1
„ Ilger	2
„ Rauf	4
„ Walter [*]	2
„ Willelm B	1

^{*} a coin illustrated in sale-catalogue cited.

What will be noticed at once about the find is its brief chronological span, but no less significant is how it looks towards Eastern England. Only three of the coins had been struck at a mint south of the Thames, and the absence of coins from the other provincial mints outside East Anglia is quite remarkable.

Concerning the date of the hoard, a *terminus ante quem* seems clearly indicated by the total absence of coins of Lawrence Class VI. Recently it has been argued cogently by Mr. J. D. Brand of Rochester that this Lawrence Class VI was introduced quite a number of years earlier than Lawrence had supposed, and most probably in or about the year 1210⁷. According to the same modern authority on the series, too, Lawrence Class Vc would have been put in issue c. 1208, so that a date of concealment for our little London find c. 1209 $\pm$ 1 might be

⁵ 'Stephen Type VII', *BNJ* XXVIII, pp. 537–554. I am grateful to Mr. Elmore Jones for his advice in the preparation of this note.

⁶ *Dave Hess 1966 price lists*, Baton Rouge, 1966, p. 90, nos. 1154–1162.

⁷ J. D. Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), pp. 57–69.

thought unlikely to be wide of the mark by more than a few months. English finds, however, concealed at this juncture are not in fact all that numerous. What I believe to be one which likewise had been overlooked by the *Inventory* is the 1885 (?) find of 35 silver pennies from Stockland near Honiton in Devon—I owe the reference to Mr. J. D. Brand who has included such details as are still available in his privately distributed list (November, 1966) of the 'Short-cross' coins in the Royal Mint Museum. It is to be hoped that Mr. Brand will publish the hoard in these pages, and the remarks that follow are concerned only with the relevance of the find to that made only a few years before in London, though it is perhaps worth recording that my friend Miss M. A. O'Donovan, B.A., of Exeter University, has made extensive enquiries which suggest that there is no local record of the discovery. It appears that the Stockland find was composed of 33 English coins—all it would seem 'Short-cross' pence—an Anglo-Irish penny of John struck at Dublin, and a Scottish penny of William the Lion. On any telling, the Anglo-Irish coin provides a *terminus post quem* of 1204/5, and it is my belief that a good case can be made out for the hoard having been concealed a little later than that but not substantially later than c. 1210. In the Royal Mint Museum in 1874 there were only nine 'Short-cross' pennies later in date than Lawrence Class Vc, and in 1906 this number still had not risen beyond a dozen. Yet, in 1885 the Mint Museum had been able to take its pick from 35 coins, and had selected ten, of which eight were English. Had the Stockland parcel in fact included coins of Lawrence Classes VI and VII, it seems scarcely credible that to this day the Mint Museum collection lacks coins of three of the four common London moneyers in Class VI, and of four of the five common London moneyers in Class VII—the three post-Class Vc pieces acquired by that institution between 1874 and 1906 being two Class VII coins of Canterbury and one coin of the same class from Bury St. Edmunds. Complete certainty, of course, is still not possible, but it is a wry thought that if the Stockland find in fact had ended—as we may well suppose—with English coins of Lawrence Class Vb or Vc, and had been published by the British Museum authorities even in outline, the Irish numismatist would have had for many years now that elusive hoard-evidence for the date of the inception of the REX coinage of Dublin which he still awaits (cf. *North Munster Studies*, ed. E. Rynne, Limerick, 1967, pp. 437–78—the Stockland find unfortunately came to my notice too late for its inclusion in the inventory there given of those

hoards believed to have contained Anglo-Irish coins of John). The Stockland hoard excepted, our nearest analogues to the 1878 London find in point of presumed date of concealment seem to be the vast but ill-recorded and perhaps dubious Sudbourne treasure (*Inventory* 344, cf. *BNJ* XXIX, ii (1959), pp. 307–311; *North Munster Studies*, p. 450 etc.), and a small find from Normandy (cf. *SNC* 1966, p. 30).

The interesting suggestion has been made to me that the 1878 London find could be a parcel from the great Sudbourne hoard which supposedly came to light in 1879. It is perfectly true that in its composition the London parcel has marked affinities with a parcel from the Sudbourne hoard published in the 1959 *British Numismatic Journal*, and an analysis of the two parcels does suggest very strongly that they had been concealed at the same period. Perhaps, though, this is not very surprising, as the years in question were those when we might have thought it more than likely that owners of coin were committing a proportion at least of their riches to the safe-keeping of the soil. Nor is Sudbourne so removed from London that we need be surprised that there are resemblances between the content of two distinct finds concealed on the same occasion. There is the further point that in 1959 the owner of the Sudbourne parcel, an elderly gentleman but by no means a centenarian, stated explicitly that the coins had been found in his youth. In other words, there is very real reason to think that the Sudbourne hoard was not discovered as early as 1879, and it has already been suggested that the real date of discovery was in the first years of this century, the 1879 date being a 'smoke-screen' to discourage official interest, it being well-known that the British Museum authorities—very properly one hastens to add—were and still are generally reluctant to initiate proceedings in the case of coins discovered in the comparatively distant past. The fact, too, that the curiously precise date 1878 should have been preserved as part of the tradition of the London parcel suggests very strongly to the historian that it is right—it may perhaps be observed at this point that Mr. Hess did not acquire the coins in England, so that the question of treasure trove regulations did not and could not arise. On balance, therefore, we see no reason to doubt the family tradition that the coins here published were found in 1878 and in London. As we have seen, the years c. 1210 were years when coins were likely to have been committed to the ground, and especially where south-eastern England was concerned, and one does well to remember that the Iona (*Inventory*

198) and 1950 Chester (*Inventory* 86) hoards came to light within four months of one another.

It only remains for me again to indicate my indebtedness to Mr. Hess's great courtesy and disinterestedness in supplying me with full details of the coins which had come to him from an Australian vendor, a direct descendant of the actual finder. Unfortunately in the intervening years the coins had been mounted to form a necklace, though admittedly it could be argued that it was due to this circumstance that the hoard had been kept until then intact, and a consequence is that we are unable to give meaningful weights for the individual coins. Finally, users of Mr. Thompson's *Inventory* may find it useful to have the following summary of the find in a very slightly modified version of the normal format:—

LONDON, unknown site, 1878.

28 R English pence and cut halfpence.

Deposit: c. 1209 ± 1.

ENGLAND. John. 'Short-Cross' coinage—*Bury St. Edmunds*: Lawrence gp. Vb. Fulke, 1. *Canterbury*: Lawrence gp. Vb. Iohan, 1; gp. Vc. (Gold) wine, $\frac{1}{2}$; Iohan M, 1. *Ipswich*: Lawrence gp. Vb. Iohan, 1; gp. Vc. Iohan, 2. *King's Lynn*: Lawrence gp. Vb. Iohan, 1. *Lincoln*: Lawrence gp. Vb. Andreu, 1. *London*: Lawrence gp. Vb. Adam, 3; Ilger 1; Ricard B, 1; Willelm T, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$; gp. Vc. Abel, 1; Adam, 1; Beneit, 1; Ilger, 2; Rauf, 4; Walter, 2; Willelm B, 1.

(R.H.) M. Dolley, *B.N.J.* XXXVI (1967), pp. 193–5. The hoard was taken to Australia and is now dispersed.

MICHAEL DOLLEY.

A NEW HALFGROAT OF RICHARD II

I WISH to report the finding of a new halfgroat (*Pl.* XIV, 17) which is a mule between Potter series II and III.

The obverse is identical to type II² (this is the die having a small pellet above the central fleur of the crown) and the reverse is similar to IIb A, but is as far as I can tell a completely new die.

A mule between series III and II was recorded in the article by W. J. W. Potter in *BNJ* XXIX, 1959. The class II series represents the long period of intermediate coinage and the class III coins are

immediately noticeable by the so-called 'fish-tail' lettering.

It is interesting to note that the letter 'r' on this late lettering was certainly used as a privy mark as the bottom right-hand serif is filed through. An identical mark to this I have noticed on all other denominations of type III, both at London and York; vide my article in *BNJ* XXXI, 1962, plate 8, no. 77.

FRANK PURVEY.

A BOY BISHOP TOKEN OF PROFILE TYPE

THE lead tokens associated with the Boy Bishops who 'ruled' between St. Nicholas' Day (December 6th) and Innocents' Day (December 28th) are well known.¹ Most previously recorded English examples have reverses closely following the sterling type. Their obverses are less uniformly copied from the coins but where a bust type was used it has, until now, shown the Saint's head either full or three-quarter-face. A token of hitherto unpublished types (*Pl.* XV, 9) has recently been presented to the British Museum through the generosity of Mrs. Jennifer Edmunds.

Obv.: Rosette of pellets ORA PRO NOBIS PIE NICHOLAE

Profile head of St. Nicholas to left.

Rev.: SAN/CTE/NICH/OLAS read outwards

Arms—s in the first quarter, n in the third quarter and a mitre in the second and fourth quarters—over a cross fourchée which divides the

legend.

Lead Wt.: 79.1 grains ↑ ↑

The prototype of this token is clearly the profile groat of Henry VII. The head is realistically modelled and the reverse is a close copy of the coin both in the choice of the shield type and in the layout of the design. It therefore cannot have been produced earlier than 1504, the date of the introduction of the profile coinage. A slightly later date would be preferable since the mixed Lombardic and Roman letter fount does not appear on the coins until Henry VIII's second issue in 1526. The provenances of English Boy Bishop tokens so far recorded have been confined to Bury St. Edmunds and its immediate neighbourhood. The profile one was found fifteen miles to the south-east in the church yard of Lavenham.

M. M. ARCHIBALD.

¹ 'The Money of the Boy Bishop at Bury St. Edmunds' by J. B. Caldecott in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London,

1936, pp. 366–371 summarises the English tokens and lists the earlier publications.

ENGLISH COPPER, TIN AND BRONZE COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Addenda to 2nd ed.

SINCE this edition was published in 1964 the following coins have been traced. All these have been examined by me except no. 26. I am very grateful to the collectors and dealers mentioned for their co-operation in showing me these pieces, several of which, viz. nos. 7, 8, 10, 14, 19, 23 and 33 are important discoveries.

A.—COINS NOT INCLUDED IN THE 2ND ED.

No. BMC

- | | <i>page</i> | |
|----|-------------|--|
| 1 | 64 | Charles I, strip of 7 Richmond farthing tokens, type 1g. Dies 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1, 2 (with : between 9 and 1 on <i>obv.</i>) |
| 2 | 64 | Charles I, strip of 6 Richmond farthing tokens, type 1g. Dies 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. I am grateful to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for drawing my attention to these strips and to Dr. W. O'Sullivan of the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, for kindly granting me permission to publish them. |
| | | It was discovered afterwards that a brief reference to these strips appears in G. Coffey's <i>Anglo-Irish Coins</i> , 1911 ed., p. 79, nos. 37 and 38. |
| 3 | 69 | Charles I, Maltravers farthing, type 3c, <i>pms</i> Harp-Woolpack [6]. |
| 4 | 162 | William and Mary, halfpenny, 1694. <i>Obv.</i> normal; <i>Rev.</i> BRIT(T over A)NNIA. |
| 5 | 163 | William and Mary, farthing, 1694, <i>Obv.</i> no stop after MARIA; <i>Rev.</i> BRITANNIA. |
| 6 | 209 | George II, halfpenny, 1733. <i>Obv.</i> GEORGIVS. <i>Rev.</i> normal. The 3s of date have the same curious shape mentioned in f.n. 6. |
| 7 | 301 | George III, pattern penny, 1797 (late Soho), gilt double <i>rev.</i> mule. <i>Rev.</i> KP7 + <i>Rev.</i> KP13. |
| 8 | 301 | George III, pattern penny, 1797 (late Soho), copper double <i>obv.</i> mule. <i>Obv.</i> KP6 + <i>Obv.</i> KP14. |
| 9 | 340 | George III, pattern halfpenny, 1799 (late Soho), KH23 in <i>copper</i> . |
| 10 | 359 | George III, pattern halfpenny (late Soho), copper double <i>rev.</i> mule. <i>Rev.</i> KH18 (1799) + <i>Rev.</i> KH30 (1805). |
| 11 | 393 | George IV, farthing, 1825. <i>obv.</i> in DEI under <i>U</i> . <i>Obv.</i> die unidentifiable because of slight wear. |
| 12 | 408 | Victoria, halfpenny, 1841, with <i>rev.</i> ↓ Red mint condition. Lowest limb of <i>E</i> in DEI broken. Should further speci- |

No. BMC

page

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|----|-----|--|
| | | mens turn up it will be interesting to see if they also are from this slightly defective <i>obv.</i> die. |
| 13 | 414 | Victoria, half-farthing, 1856. <i>Obv.</i> normal; <i>Rev.</i> letters and date in larger type. |
| 14 | 421 | Victoria, penny, 1860, heavy flan (209-5 grs.), as no. 1620 but <i>bronzed</i> . (Illus. Seaby's <i>Bulletin</i> , Mar. 1967, K2307.) |
| 15 | 424 | Victoria, penny, 1861, <i>Obv.</i> 5 + <i>Rev.</i> C*, corrected error, 6 over 8. |
| 16 | 424 | Victoria, penny, 1863 with 222/126 scratched on field of <i>obv.</i> before face. |
| 17 | 425 | Victoria, penny, 1872, bronze proof. |
| 18 | 427 | Victoria, penny, 1877, <i>Obv.</i> 6 + <i>Rev.</i> G. |
| 19 | 429 | Victoria, penny, 1882, <i>without</i> H. <i>Obv.</i> 7 + <i>Rev.</i> N. Two specimens. Although Garside listed this variety none of the several worn specimens purporting to have no H examined so far was considered sufficiently convincing. The appearance of the almost mint specimen in the collection of Mr. W. J. Noble of New South Wales (Plate XIV, 20) and of another in fine condition in Mr. E. J. Flatman's possession completely alters the situation. When studying the Victorian bronze series it is essential to work rigidly to the principle that no new variety is acceptable unless it is entirely beyond question. Details in the designs of this series cannot be satisfactorily studied from worn coins, though, unfortunately, this is attempted by some collectors. The fact that only two really fine, undoubted examples of this penny have turned up during the nine years since this catalogue was first published is ample evidence of the scarcity of these pieces. Any worn pieces, seemingly without H, can now be re-examined in a much more favourable light. |
| | | Craig tells us (<i>The Mint</i> , p. 335) that 'the Mint stopped work on 1 February 1882 for ten months'—for reconstruction. During this period the coining of bronze was undertaken by Heaton and it is extremely unlikely that the Mint would be in a position to strike any bronze during the January preceding this upheaval. This leaves December as |

No. BMC
page

the period during which these pennies without H were almost certainly struck—doubtless a small issue to tide over until the new year.

- 20 430 Victoria, penny, 1887, grained edge.
 21 430 Victoria, penny, 1893, bronze proof.
 22 431 Victoria, halfpenny, 1860, type 2, *Obv.* 2 + *Rev.* C.
 23 432 Victoria, halfpenny, 1861. *Rev.* E with *Obv.* from an unrecorded die having 14 leaves (3 + 3 + 2 + 4 + 2) but only 4 berries (Plate XIV, 18 and 19).
 24 440 Victoria, halfpenny, 1887, specimen of B.M.C. 1843 in gold (226.9 grains).
 25 443 Victoria, farthing, 1875H, *Obv.* 3 + *Rev.* C; small date figures.
 26 446 Victoria, third-farthing, 1876, bronze proof.
 27 480 Victoria, Smith's Decimal Currency, 10 cents. *Obv.* Incuse head of queen to left, undraped and truncated above the shoulder. No legend. Broad outer raised rim. *Rev.* 10 CENTS (incuse) in very large letters across centre. Broad outer raised rim bearing legend (incuse) SMITHS DECIMAL CURRENCY. Dia.: 40.5 mm.; thickness 5 mm., copper. This and the following piece appear to be initial essays for the Smith's decimal patterns. The portrait, which is much larger than on the ordinary pieces, is comparatively crude in execution; in fact, both the portrait and the *rev.* legends appear to have been hand-engraved direct onto the flans.
 28 480 Victoria, Smith's Decimal Currency, 5 cents. Uniface *rev.*, 5 CENTS (incuse) in centre; no rim. Dia.: 36 mm.; thickness, 3.5 mm.
 29 511 Edward VIII, nickel-brass threepence, 1937. *Obv.* MODEL across centre. *Rev.*, as *rev.* of BMC no. 2365, i.e. the Edward VIII *rev.* (Sotheby Sale, 27 July 1964, lot 47).

B.—COINS LISTED IN THE 2ND ED., BUT RECORDED THEREIN AS UNTRACED

- 30 139 Charles II, 'Elephant halfpenny' in brass, BMC #505.
 31 172 William III, halfpenny, 1699, type 2, BRITAN I.A. BMC 678.
 32 430 Victoria, penny, 1886, bronze proof, BMC 1738.

No. BMC
page

- 33 467 Victoria, pattern penny, 1859, copper-nickel, type 53, BMC 2026. The emergence from obscurity of this important piece is most welcome. The queen's diadem which I originally described (from the rather poor illustration in Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*) as scroll-patterned, can now be corrected to leaf-patterned.

C—SECOND SPECIMENS OF COINS AT PRESENT RECORDED AS THE ONLY KNOWN EXAMPLES.

- 34 162 William and Mary, halfpenny, 1694, BMC 604*.
 35 185 Anne, pattern halfpenny in silver, BMC 725.
 36 246 George III, Droz pattern halfpenny, brown gilt, BMC 947.
 37 423 Victoria, penny, 1860, ONF, BMC 1634.
 38 424 Victoria, penny, 1863, 3 below date, BMC 1656.
 39 430 Victoria, penny, 1890, bronze proof, BMC 1743.
 40 440 Victoria, halfpenny, 1889, 9 over 8, BMC 1844A.
 41 440 Victoria, halfpenny, 1890, bronze proof, BMC 1847.
 42 442 Victoria, farthing, 1874H, both as over G. BMC 1888.
 43 443 Victoria, farthing, 1875, *Obv.* 3 + *Rev.* C, BMC 1890A.
 44 446 Victoria, third-farthing, uniface *obv.* without legend in aluminium, BMC 1938.
 45 482 Victoria, model penny, *obv.* PENNEY, BMC 2092A.

PROVENANCE

- National Museum of Ireland, 1, 2.
 A. H. Baldwin & Sons, 3, 20.
 G. Slack, Hemel Hempstead, 4.
 R. Morgan, Exeter, 5.
 M. A. Newport, Birmingham, 6.
 M. M. O'Hara, Coventry, 7, 8, 10.
 I. Green, London, 9, 26, 32, 33, 36, 44.
 J. Uakulya, Scunthorpe, 11, 13, 22, 25, 45.
 E. H. White, London, 12.
 B. A. Seaby Ltd., 14, 17, 29, 38.
 S. J. Bayfield, 15.
 Spink & Son, Ltd, 16, 24, 35.
 K. J. Townsend, St. Albans, 18.

W. J. Noble, New South Wales, 19.
 J. Murphy, London, 21, 39.
 Stewart Ward (Coins) Ltd., London, 23
 E. Junge, London, 27, 28.
 E. P. Newman, St. Louis, Missouri, 30.
 V. G. Levine, Cromer, 31, 43.

C. Brett, Norwich, 34.
 D. Ainley, Huddersfield, 37.
 J. B. Dawson, Ormskirk, 40.
 H. Shulman, Manchester, 41.
 R. E. Wilson, Bath, 42.

C. W. PECK.

A BURSLEM TOKEN?

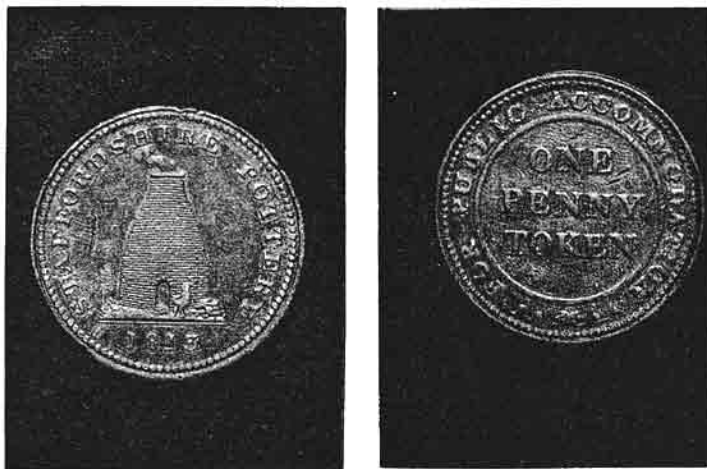


FIG. 1

AMONG the unidentified nineteenth century tokens is a rare penny piece:—

Obverse:—A pottery kiln and the legend: STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERY 1813

Reverse:—An inscription in three lines across the field: ONE PENNY TOKEN and the legend: FOR PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION .. + ..

The proprietors of this piece are unknown, but the writer would like to suggest that it was probably issued by the firm of John and Richard Riley, china-glaze earthenware manufacturers; and one of the first producers of the famous Willow Pattern tableware. The evidence is circumstantial, though fairly strong.



FIG. 2

There is a scarce but well-known Burslem piece of J. & R. Riley and Machin & Co. which has a similar reverse, but the obverse is different:—

Obverse:—An inscription in five lines across the field: ONE POUND NOTE FOR 240 TOKENS 1813 and the legend PAYABLE I & R RILEY AND MACHIN & CO BURSLEM

The few specimens of this second piece examined have all been struck over the first, and traces of the original design are visible. It appears that I. & R. Riley issued the kiln token, which was very appropriate; but then became associated in some way with Machin & Co. who were colour makers; possibly the two firms came under one ownership; and Riley's piece issued in 1813 seems to have been called in the same year and restamped using a similar reverse die but with a new obverse bearing the names of the two firms. In the specimen illustrated above traces of the word ROTTERY are clearly visible on the reverse and TOKEN in ghost letters across the field of the obverse. (Unfortunately this does not show well on the photographs.)

The hypothesis that the kiln token was issued by the firm of I. & R. Riley is supported by:—

1. The Riley and Machin combine appear to have possessed quantities of the kiln token which they used for their overstrike.

2. The kiln design was appropriate for the firm of earthenware manufacturers but was meaningless for colour-makers.

3. The rare kiln tokens usually show little sign of circulation, whereas the commoner overstrikes bear evidence of use.

4. The syndicate of Riley and Machin used a reverse die of the same pattern as that of the earlier piece.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank the late Mr. C. W. Peck, Mr. P. F. Purvey and Mr. C. E. Blunt for examining the coin and drawing his attention to slight differences in the reverse dies, e.g. the apex of the second A in ACCOMMODATION in the earlier token points to a bead in the border, whereas in the later piece it is equidistant between two beads. All agree that the two reverse designs, although extremely alike, are not from the same die.



FIGS. 3 AND 4

REFERENCES

- BELL, R. C. *Copper Commercial Coins 1811-1819*, 1964, pp. 58-9 & 66.
- DAVIS, W. J. *Nineteenth Century Token Coinage* 1904, pp. 127, 130.
- WATKIN, E. A. *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, Vol. I, 1961, Reprint.

R. C. BELL.

REVIEWS

Tradesman's Tickets and Private Tokens 1795-1819, by R. C. BELL, M.B., F.R.C.S. Published by Corbitt & Hunter Ltd., Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 315 pp. 45s.

MR. BELL has produced a worthy successor to his two previous works on 18th and 19th century tokens. The improvement in the lay-out of the book, and particularly in the quality of the illustrations noticeable in the second volume of the trilogy, has been maintained.

In the two previous books, Mr. Bell laid down standards for the acceptance of tokens as genuine commercial coins. Few token specialists will quarrel with these. The position here is more difficult. The author is perfectly honest, and admits that in many cases we cannot say whether a token can be included as a tradesmen's advertising token, or a private token. It must be admitted that his choice is most wise. However, it may be questioned if it is wise to include pieces inscribed as medals. It seems a pity that tokens that have always been associated together, such as the Edinburgh half-pennies and farthings of Hutchinson are now separated in different volumes. In particular, it would have been better to leave the famous Wilkinson 3s. 6d. silver token in the first volume, especially as the author admits that it may have circulated as a commercial coin.

Many of the pieces described as private tokens bear all the marks of a commercial coin, but do not qualify as such, because they were struck in very small numbers. Were these tokens originally intended for commercial use? The issue might have been suspended for some reason. Dr. Bell does not say if this was the case. It would be interesting to know the smallest number of tokens that he would admit as a genuine commercial coin.

Among the most remarkable tokens described are those for which the dies were cut by I. G. Hancock at the age of 9 years. Such skill hardly seems credible at that age, but there seems little doubt about the facts.

On page 131 it is stated that both the die sinker and the manufacturer of Wilkinson's 3s. 6d. token is Hancock. As Boulton made the corresponding halfpenny token with the reverse of the barge, it seems more likely that he made the silver token also, the die being cut by Hancock, who at times worked for Boulton. The statement on page 163 'There are specimens, however, which have been

countermarked with a w on one or both sides, and others with AND SIXPENCE obliterated' is rather misleading. In fact, tokens are found which combine both varieties. These are minor points, and do not at all detract from the great value of the book.

In an appendix, the author deals with private tokens issued after 1819. These are of great interest, being quite unknown to most collectors of tokens. They include the issues of famous numismatists as W. J. Davis and S. H. Hamer. The facile optimism expressed on the reverses of some of Hamer's tokens is worthy of Samuel Smiles. While we are a learned numismatic society, it is important to remember that many others besides numismatists are interested in 18th and 19th century tokens, such as local historians. Mr. Bell's work will particularly appeal to such people. In the reviewer's opinion, not the least important feature of the book is the vivid picture that is given of the social and political life of the late 18th and the early 19th centuries.

W. S.

Matthew Young and his Numismatic Correspondents a Century and a Half Ago, by A. PORRITT. Minerva Numismatic Handbooks, no. 1. 10s.

THIS little book places on record in a most readable form a parcel of letters, mostly addressed to Matthew Young, the leading coin-dealer of his time, and dated in the main between 1814 and 1830. The letters were formerly in the possession of Mr. S. H. Hamer of Halifax from whom they passed to his friend and colleague Mr. G. Dent. They now belong to the Halifax Antiquarian Society.

Mr. Porritt has made extracts from the more interesting letters—there are some 150 in all—and has presented them in a manner that reflects vividly both the interests of collectors at this time and the problems that a dealer then had to tackle. Among the more entertaining (and in some cases undoubtedly the more exasperating) of Young's correspondents were several parsons: the Rev. J. W. Martin writes engagingly, 'Take compassion on a poor fellow who has been confined to the house these five weeks' and asks for news and for coins; the Rev. Marmaduke Trattle, described by another correspondent as 'that Gentlemanly Old Humourist', writes voluminously and urgently to Young begging him to help in the 'Aggrandisement' of his collection,

in which he must have been successful, since its dispersal in 1832 took 29 days. These are only two of a number of clerics whose letters figure in these pages. But other familiar names are found among the writers: four members of the Wyon family; Edward Hawkins; C. W. Loscombe (who sends Young 18 'medals' asking him to mark those that are false); T. W. Thomas; to mention but a few.

Many of the letters quoted deal with medals, in the sense in which the term is used today (in Mr. Loscombe's letter it is perhaps used in the older sense which included coins); fewer mention classical coins; and only occasionally do medieval coins figure in the correspondence. This, no doubt, reflects the tastes of his correspondents rather than the scope of Young's activities as a dealer for, in the sale of his collection which clearly included (if indeed it did not comprise) his stock, there was a wide range of medieval coins. Outstanding were over 3,000 *PAXS* pennies of William I (which, sold in large lots, averaged 9d. each!). A few are designated as being from the great Beauworth hoard, found four years before Young's death, and it is a fair surmise that the greater part of the remainder came from the same source.

For the record it may be noted that Mr. Porritt's statement that the dispersal of Young's collection occupied 54 days between 1838 and 1841 is, though large enough in all conscience, in fact a slight understatement. Following 'the ninth and last portion' in November 1841, 'the remaining portion' consisting of a further 253 lots was sold in November 1842.

Altogether this little book of Mr. Porritt's has given this reviewer much pleasure, as it will, he feels sure, other readers.

C. E. B.

Bibliographie numismatique. PHILIP GRIERSON; [traduit de l'anglais par Jacqueline Lallemand]. Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques, Bruxelles, 1966. 235 pp. (Travaux, 2). 430 Belgian francs.

IN 1954 the Historical Association published *Coins and medals: a select bibliography* in the series *Helps for students of history*. It is perhaps a reflection of the increasing numismatic awareness of other historical sciences that an expanded French version of this very helpful work can be published by a numismatic organisation, the Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques, of the city where Mr. Grierson (one of the most internationally orientated of all working in the field of numismatics) has been professor of numismatics and the history of coinage since 1948.

As in 1954, the chapters cover generalities—primitive and emergency money—the ancient world—medieval and modern Europe—western coinage outside Europe—Islam—India—the Far East—coin-weights, jettons and tokens—medals; bibliographical details are reduced to the minimum except for adding place of publication. The bibliography again excludes collecting as such—admitted only where the needs of collectors have produced the most important manuals—and such fields of collecting as tokens other than trade tokens, and decorations, which are of little significance to the historian. That a solely numismatic audience is now envisaged, however, is evident from a very valuable new chapter on sale catalogues (pages 169–208), to the lack of organisation of which Mr. Grierson has himself drawn the attention of the International Numismatic Commission. Other very welcome additions are sections on coining techniques and numismatic methods, and the much-needed indexing (prepared with the help of Miss M. Webb).

It is to be regretted, however, that there is not one index but two: of persons, and of subjects and place names (also titles). This division does not correspond to any real distinction in the needs of enquirers, for neither is the first index composed exclusively of authors, nor does it include references to publications authorised by museums etc., which are entered under place in the second index. Admittedly there are difficulties in inter-filing persons, places and subjects, but codes of rules have been drawn up to meet them.

For a future edition it may be suggested that the less important publications noted in the commentary to another should be indexed completely, and that the index should be more fully cross-referenced. The blind reference under Papadopoli (page 108) needs correcting; the entry for O'Donovan is on page 195. A future edition might also be saved from a few errors perpetuated from 1954: Grierson (page 82) should read 'The gold solidus . . .'; Bowker (page 151) is N.N.M. 101. One would also like to know the principle of arrangement of entries in each section; neither alphabetical nor chronological, it is not except on occasions obviously systematic.

It is to be hoped that a future English edition will appear in a shorter time than we have had to wait for this; yet it is already out of date to the extent of not covering all publications of 1965. It might also be cheaper, something nearer the price of 1954 (five shillings) which the British Association of Numismatic Societies can continue to offer to schools. One would be willing to dispense with the admittedly personal selection of papers representing trends of research in different fields (a considerable

proportion of the additions which have doubled its size), for which the specialist can turn to the more detailed *Rapports, Relazioni*, and now *Survey of numismatic research 1960-1965* of the international congresses, or to the bibliographical listings of Mrs. Clain-Stefanelli (1965) in favour of greater emphasis on the unique qualities of Grierson's bibliography: that it approaches, with its critical annotations and scope notes introducing each section, the function of a guide to study. With the addition of a list of

significant museums, libraries, societies and co-ordinating organisations like the International Numismatic Commission, research institutes such as the Naples Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici, foundations and awards, and possibly established dealers, with their addresses, scope, resources, publications, and availability of services, it could have a very important influence educationally.

R. H. T.

OBITUARY

CHARLES WILSON PECK, F.S.A., F.P.S.

ON 24 April 1968 after a brief illness Charles Wilson Peck died in hospital at Tooting. He had been a member of the British Numismatic Society since 1947, and was its President from 1964 until 1966. Few if any of the members have made so fundamental a contribution to our knowledge and more especially understanding of one major series, and his *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum 1658-1958* (London, 1960) more than lives up to the too often hackneyed tag *monumentum aere perennius*. It was a volume which set, and still sets, entirely new standards where the study of milled coins is concerned, and even among British Museum catalogues it can boast one proud and indeed unique distinction. Within three years a larger than usual edition was exhausted, and the demand for a reprint too loud and too broadly based to be ignored. It is typical of the man that there could be no question of a second printing with asterisks to send the reader to a couple of pages of *addenda* and *corrigenda*. Although in the event the number of corrections was minute, each page of the second edition (London, 1964) was revised with the same meticulous attention to detail that had characterized the preparation of the original manuscript. In this connection it may still not be generally known that the whole of the first edition was set up by the compositors of the Oxford University Press from a manuscript and not a typescript. This "fair copy" with its small, neat but entirely legible hand in point of fact proved considerably easier to set than most products of a machine, the printers receiving immediate and precise indication of each and every change of type-face, type-size and indentation, while the astonishing consistency of the handwriting meant that the costing of the volume was really no more difficult than if the readers at the press had been confronted with a more conventional typescript. The bill for corrections in fact was nominal, and avoided of course by the process were all those subtle, intermediate errors inherent in the intervention of even the most skilled of copy-typists, and, provided only that the manuscript is still in existence, one hopes that the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum will persist with a suggestion that found favour in Dr. Walker's heyday, namely that the manuscript should be bound for the delectation if not indeed stupefaction of some future generation of numismatists.

Essentially Peck was a shy man, though by no means averse to intimacy with those whom he felt shared to some degree his interests and standards. On one occasion, for example, he and his wife offered hospitality to a Dublin colleague fortunately still with us, and for third parties it was quite delightful to see how the two men with completely different backgrounds and numismatic interests warmed to each other. On such occasions there might be the odd revealing glimpse of the formation of an instinctive scholar dedicated as few laymen to the quest for absolute truth. In particular it soon became clear to the outsider that his father had influenced decisively his collecting tastes as well as his professional skills, and in both cases with the most benign consequences. He was an only child, the son of Thomas Whitmore Peck and his wife Louisa Marsh, and was born, on 24 February 1901, at Stechford in Warwickshire which was then very much on the outskirts of Birmingham. His father was the Chief Pharmacist at Birmingham's General Hospital, and found relaxation in philately and in research into the career of William Withering, the eighteenth-century English chemist who was one of the first to explore the pharmaceutical properties of digitalis. This research bore fruit in a still standard biography in which his collaborator was Professor K. D. Wilkinson. The young Peck received his education at the well-known King Edward VI High School, and then began his professional training under his father. The Great War was still raging, and in August 1918 he had to interrupt his studies, and trained as a wireless operator for the hard-pressed Merchant Navy. A typical touch is that he obtained a first-class certificate in radiotelegraphy, though wireless was not to prove an abiding interest. Service at sea followed, and as Second Radio Officer aboard the S.S. *Langorse* he was as far afield as the Mediterranean and Canada.

He maintained his interest in the sea, and a very fine collection of photographs of the ships of this and to some extent later eras has been presented by his widow to the Photographic Records Committee of the Society for Nautical Research and is in process of incorporation in the archives of the National Maritime Museum. There could be no better tribute to his quite extraordinary skill as a photographer, and the quality of his meticulously labelled negatives and prints is such as to add enormously to their value as a record of the age of the passing of the

battleship. In December 1919 he left the Merchant Navy and took up again his professional studies, still under the direction of his father. In October 1920 he passed the assistants' examination of Apothecaries' Hall, and in July 1922 the qualifying examination proper. Leaving Birmingham he took up an appointment at St. Bartholomew's Hospital as assistant to the distinguished J. Langford Moore. Further distinctions followed fast, the major qualification in July 1924, with a certificate of honour for chemistry and physics, and in June 1925 the so-called "Pereira Medal", the coveted silver medal of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. It was a triumph without precedent, being the first time that the award had gone to one trained wholly in voluntary hospital service, and the achievement was the more remarkable when we consider that he was still only twenty-four years of age and was competing against the cream of the great teaching-hospitals.

On 23 June 1928 Peck was appointed Pharmacist to St. Thomas's Hospital, and Lecturer in Pharmacy and Materia Medica in the hospital's medical school. It was the first time that one so young had been appointed to the position, and he held it with distinction and real devotion until his retirement on 31 March 1963. It will be seen, then, that numismatics, a very early love, was only one facet of an extremely active professional career. The editorship of the 1931, 1935, 1941 and (with J. B. Harman) 1953 editions of the *St. Thomas' Hospital Pharmacopæia* alone would constitute a very considerable achievement. Already he was laying the foundations, though, of a choice collection of coins, and after an initial flirtation with the Roman silver series he turned increasingly to the English regal copper, a subject too often despised which for him represented a challenge. Birmingham-bred he found himself more and more fascinated by the problems presented by the products of the Soho Mint under Boulton, and one may feel that nothing in his numismatic researches was to give him a greater feeling of real achievement than his recognition of the essential problem of the restrikes and its definitive solution. The point that must be made here, though, is that it was many years before he felt able to present the results of his investigation. Mere brilliance never dazzled Peck, and he proved a singular judge of the most plausible superficiality. His closest friends will not easily forget his comments on a would-be overnight master of the Jacobean coinages in the precious metals who presumed to use to him the phrase "when we come to put pen to paper" of the first of many promised *chefs-d'oeuvre* not one of which, as it happens, was to have materialized by the time of Peck's death.

On 27 June 1933 he married a friend from childhood Emma Louise Nisbett, only daughter of Lt. Col. William Gore Nisbett of the 92nd Punjabi Regiment and his wife Emma Mary Wright. The daughter of an Indian Army officer and grand-daughter of a general might seem an improbable match for the essentially reserved and studious Peck, and the more so when his bride's background was as uncompromisingly Scots as his was staidly English. The marriage, however, was a singularly happy one, and colleagues fortunate enough to enjoy the hospitality of their quite delightfully comfortable home had new insight into how it was that conditions were so ideal for serious pursuit of his leisure interests. After three years or so at the house in Coombe Lane, West Wimbledon, where he had lived with his mother before his marriage, the family moved to a more commodious residence in Wimbledon proper, and characteristically he never moved house again. The war years with a young family—they had a daughter and a son both now married and themselves parents—were not easy for a conscientious professional man tied to London, and his deep sense of loyalty to the old St. Thomas's meant that the exceptionally heavy damage there from the air-raids was a wound as well as a source of continual strain. It was about this time, though, that we may perhaps detect the first stirrings of the idea that he might himself be able to make some serious contribution to the study of the English regal coinage in the base metals. Already becoming intimate with the London dealers, and it is impossible not to mention here the name of the late Albert Baldwin, he was at once broadening and deepening his knowledge of the material, while his own cabinet was beginning to be without peer where his chosen series was concerned. He was always the first to admit, too, how fortunate he was to have gained the confidence of the Very Rev. Edgar Rogers, F.S.A., Dean of Bocking, who was in the way of becoming something of a numismatic recluse—he had parted from the British Numismatic Society during the membership crisis of the early 1930s—but who was a living if mildly eccentric and limited link with the almost legendary Weightman.

The immediate post-war years may be considered decisive for the numismatist in Peck. The British Museum collections were back in London and so once more available for study, and three successive Keepers of Coins and Medals, by no means coincidentally all three Fellows both of the British Academy and of the Society of Antiquaries of London, recognized in Peck a brother scholar albeit one who was treading paths completely unfamiliar and even incomprehensible. Seen in retrospect those were halcyon days, and the Coin Room, though housed

in cramped and highly inconvenient quarters hastily adapted from one of the old official residences, still managed to be open without formality during the lunch-hour—later Peck was to observe to an interviewer that the catalogue could never have been undertaken if he had not been able to slip up to the Museum in the middle of the day. Successfully re-introduced by Dr. John Allan the pre-war “shift-system”, which still gave the staff at least a whole hour for lunch, was working very smoothly, and one of the pleasures of “early duty” was the opportunity it gave for personal contact with Peck who came in frequently for a few minutes about half-past twelve. It was now that he began to contemplate the preparation of a major work on the English regal copper, tin and bronze, and to marshal his resources to this end. In 1946 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, his election to our own society following in the January of the ensuing year. In May 1947 he exhibited to the “British” for the first time, and, pleasing touch of *pietas* when we recall his father’s interests, he showed a Wyon medal with philatelic associations. It was followed up in May of 1948 by the exhibition of a forgery of a 1566 Scottish ryal! Nor did a slight review in the 1948 *Journal* give any real inkling of what was to come, but his regular attendance at the meetings was noted and appreciated, and at the Anniversary Meeting of 1948 he was elected to the Council. Except for two years in the 1950s when ineligible for re-election he was to serve on the Council—after 1966 as a much-respected Vice-President—until his death, and few attended with such self-effacing but effective assiduity. He exhibited, though, only very rarely, and generally eschewed his chosen series, a group of six sceattas in February 1952 and contrasted specimens of the coinages of 1904 and 1951 in May of the same year representing the total of his contribution from that decade.

The 1954 *Journal*, however, gave an earnest of what had been maturing for years with his major paper “The Royal Farthing Tokens of James I”, a trial-run for one section of the eventual *corpus*, and it was plain for all to see that a giant had arrived in our midst. The idea that his projected volume should take the form of a *British Museum Catalogue* had already taken root—and in making this decision Dr. John Walker would not allow himself to be deflected by an already unhappy experience in the matter of Sutton Hoo—and those of us who gave a new welcome to Peck on his visits to the Coin Room found a new readiness to discuss outstanding problems. More than one was made to feel that we might ourselves have something to contribute, the perfectionist in Peck—and he was a perfectionist—making

him patently anxious that the volume should have no avoidable defects. It did not matter if an idea was not his if it advanced in any way the cause of truth, and it was almost embarrassing to have a master sitting as it were at the feet of his pupils and so scrupulous in his acknowledgement of such trifling contributions as they were able to make on the basis of experience in other disciplines. The decision finally taken that the book should be a “BMC” relieved Peck from anxiety that standards of production might have to be sacrificed to render it a commercial proposition—ironically the volume was in the event to be a source of profit to the Trustees—and he threw himself into the preparation of a worthy manuscript. His visits to the Coin Room became more frequent and more protracted, and for a period all other interests appeared to have been subordinated to the one end. A note “Three Rare Soho Pieces” in the 1957 *Journal* was a bare record, dictated by courtesy, of a critical exhibit on behalf of the Birmingham Museum, while in the next number there appeared a definitive paper “The Pattern Halfpennies and Farthings of Anne” which represented still another highly successful experiment in techniques, and cleared the way for one of the most applauded sections of the by now imminent *corpus*.

The whole of the year 1959, with portions of 1958 and 1960, was given up to the correction of the proofs of the text and plates. Peck, of course, knew exactly what he wanted, and a characteristic touch was a visit to the Oxford University Press. In the case of a lesser scholar such insistence on personal contact might have aroused some resentment, but his quick recognition and open admiration of craftsmanship in others made him new friends both at Oxford and at the Cotswold Collotype Company. Just as the compositors at the former appreciated at once the labour that lay behind so consistent a manuscript, so the highly skilled photographic staff at the latter could not fail to be impressed by the superb quality of the enlarged details taken by Peck himself. As each batch of proofs arrived, Peck, the Keeper and the present writer would scrutinize them each from his own viewpoint, and then meet at the Department of Coins and Medals to produce an agreed recension. Very often this meeting would be timed so that the London representative of the Press came in at the end to take back to Oxford both the corrected proofs and minute verbal instructions on the often extremely subtle corrections needed for the printed page to convey exactly what the author intended. For the obituarist it remains a source of pride that Peck should have asked that he assist with the proofs, and no less happy are memories of how about noon these often arduous sessions would break up

with Mr. Keep making his way back to Amen Court, Dr. Walker going to a small restaurant in Soho, and Peck and the writer adjourning to a particular public house in High Holborn for the really very frugal and even abstemious repast which went by the name of a "liquid lunch".

The volume appeared in 1960, and reviews such as those from the pen of the late Albert Baldwin in the 1960 *Journal* and of Mr. P. J. Seaby in the 1964 *Numismatic Chronicle* are evidence for posterity of what his contemporaries made of a tome which for once disproved the Callimachian stricture μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν. Recognition from the Royal Numismatic Society was unusually prompt, and in June Peck received the medal instituted by Sir John Evans seventy-seven years before. In his extraordinarily interesting reply to the President, by a happy chance Mr. C. E. Blunt, Peck remarked that work in the English series had not been so honoured since G. C. Brooke, and it is a wry reflection that once again our own society has allowed to go to the grave one who had more than merited the Sanford Saltus, and whose papers published in our *Journal* could be thought to have more than met the letter of the law. In 1960 appeared the meticulous two-page note "English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum: Addenda and Corrigenda", and the very next year a highly important if very technical full-length paper entitled "Photography of Coins in Monochrome and Colour on 35 mm. Film". What distressed his numismatic friends was that his interest in coins appeared to be flagging, and the time is not yet ripe for all to be said that might be on this subject. Some factors are well-known, and we may instance the mad upward spiralling of prices which followed the publication of his *magnum opus*. Not only was it impossible for him to continue to collect, but it was no longer safe for him to retain his now priceless collection in his own house. It was this inability to study that led him to put on the market for the benefit of others those portions of his collection which he felt were academically the least rewarding and also the most popular the other side of the Atlantic. The major London dealers were invited to put in their bids, and there can be no doubt that there was waspish disappointment in certain quarters. On one visit to London the writer's attention was drawn gleefully by one "old friend" of Peck's in the trade to an admittedly tasteless piece of advertising by an American dealer, and there were those who pretended to deplore the export of the scientifically trivial 1954 penny who had evinced no interest in the piece while it was still in the market. Fortunately for numismatics in this country Peck was persuaded that it was his duty to accept the presidency of our

Society, and his two presidential addresses repay reading with the closest attention. Posterity should have no difficulty in naming those on whose shoulders Peck fairly laid the blame for the *malaise* afflicting the English series as a whole.

On 31 March 1963 he laid down his appointment at St. Thomas's. That summer the present writer moved to Ireland and so missed less than he might have done what had been fairly regular meetings on the evening train from Waterloo which remain a happy memory. Peck was not a malicious man, and certainly not uncharitable, but his comments on the contemporary numismatic scene were spiced with some mildly Rabelaisian asides which of their nature cannot be passed down in the pages of this *Journal*. Dr. Walker's illness and death still further weakened the links which bound him to their common discipline, and attempts by other friends to interest him in a new series were unsuccessful. It is not a coincidence, one feels, that he could not be persuaded to serve for a fourth term on the council of the Royal Numismatic Society and, while very sensible of the distinction of being elected in 1961 a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, he did not attend there with sufficient frequency to get to know the museum curators who were among the warmest admirers of his work. One still recalls, though, with pleasure the welcome given him when he did come as a guest to one of the dining-clubs. The truth was, however, that his retirement was being dominated by another of his early loves—and one that had contributed to his expertise as a numismatist. Before the war he had been very interested in microphotography, and now the study of pond-life claimed more and more of his attention. At the time of his death he was working on a paper, to be illustrated by superb cine sequences based on his own microphotographs, which one understands would have vindicated his election on 11 April 1967 to that pleasantly exclusive body known as the Quekett Microscopical Club.

It would be a mistake, though, to suppose that Peck's last years witnessed anything like a complete break with the numismatic world. He was consulted from time to time by the more serious class of student, and pestered far too frequently by those with no claim whatever on his time or attention. If he could not be prevailed upon to contribute to the pages of the *Journal* any major paper, he still showed himself capable of turning out an incisive review, as in the 1963 number, and in 1966 he was happy to exhibit to our society a pair of eighteenth-century forgers' moulds on behalf of the Birmingham Museum. There were those of us who still hoped that he could be prevailed upon one day to apply his

singular talents to some new series—the writer hoped it might even be the eighteenth-century copper coinage of Ireland—and that Peck's eye and hand had not lost anything of their old deftness is well shown by the last note from his pen which appears in this very number of the *Journal*. There is an Irish tag which may well be slightly altered to fit the present case, and which tells of how the track of the pen endures when the scribe is no more, and it may serve as an epitaph for one who already can be seen to have exerted a decisive influence on the shaping in this century of the English numismatic tradition:—

Maireann lorg an phinn ach ní mhaireann an té a chum.

M. D.

SIR FRANK MERRY STENTON

It would be presumptuous on the part of a numismatist to attempt to make an assessment of the work of a man who has been described as 'the greatest historian since Maitland', but the death of Sir Frank Stenton on September 15th 1967 at the age of 87 cannot be allowed to pass without something being said in this *Journal* of his services to numismatics.

From childhood he had been a collector and his varied interests are reflected in an entry for May 17 1893, 'my thirteenth birthday', in the diary he kept for that year. His mother gave him a 'Garter' half-guinea; 'Frank' a 'bank note for 2d½'; his half-sister 'a splendid Spanish coin and a piece of oak from the historical oak-tree in Norwood Park'; a Mrs. Binns four silver coins; and a Miss Hartcup 'a number of foreign coins, a piece of lapis lazuli, a piece of stone from the palace of Caesar at Rome, another from the baths of Caracalla at Rome and a piece of wood from a tree growing near the grave of the poet Grey (*sic*)'. Elsewhere he is found showing 'the museum' to friends.

Early in his career he appreciated the value of coins as an aid to the teaching of history, but it was not until 1946, when Reading University placed at his disposal a sum of money for the purpose of forming a small teaching collection for the University, that the cabinet attained importance. This was a move that brought them and us, as numismatists, a rich reward and its timing was peculiarly fortunate, for the money was available before the sharp rise in prices that has taken place in recent years. As a result, Sir Frank was able to get together a series

of Anglo-Saxon coins, each one of which is carefully selected either for its historical importance, its beauty, or for some significant point in the legend or in the moneyer's name. That the collection now contains coins of Offa and of Cynethryth, his queen, is alone indicative of its importance and it is gratifying to learn that the Committee for the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* plans to publish it in their series.

The success of this series, of which eight volumes have appeared under the aegis of the British Academy, with a companion volume published by the British Museum, is largely due to Sir Frank's personal interest in it. It was he who introduced the project to the British Academy and from the inception until his death he was chairman of the Academy Committee that organized it. Without his constant support and encouragement it is unlikely that the project would ever have been realised and it is certain that it would not have achieved what it has.

Sir Frank's other service to Anglo-Saxon numismatics was in bringing it to the notice of historians, who at times had tended to neglect it, and in making numismatists understand that, if they wished to be taken seriously by historians, they must impose on themselves the same strict disciplines that historians applied. In his great work, *Anglo-Saxon England*, use is made of the evidence of coins, especially at times when documentary evidence is scanty, or even completely lacking, and in the Bibliography at the end a section under 'Sources of incidental information' is devoted to 'Coins'.

In 1958 he addressed this Society on 'The Anglo-Saxon Coinage and Historians', a stimulating talk which will be vividly remembered by those fortunate enough to have been present and of which he allowed a recording to be made. In the following year he was elected an Honorary Member in recognition of his services to our subject.

If I may be allowed to do so, I would like to end on a personal note by trying to say something of the man. Slight in build, the quickness of his movements reflected the alertness of his mind. His manner was quiet and his manners, even when expressing disagreement, were of extreme courtesy. But the meaning would be clear, and he was uncompromising when he thought that standards were liable to be sacrificed to expediency or that historical truth was at stake. Few were more generous with their knowledge and few had more of it to offer. Working under him on the *Sylloge* Committee, I was constantly struck by how much he achieved with seemingly so little effort; and, when discussing a problem with him, one had to be

constantly on the alert not to miss a point of importance put forward in a gentle, almost diffident, manner. Those who were privileged to enjoy his friendship will always treasure the remembrance of it.

C. E. B.

ALBERT HENRY BALDWIN

ALBERT HENRY BALDWIN, whose death took place on 14 November 1967 at the age of 55, was a much respected member of the family firm of numismatists. Born at Eltham (then Kent) on 25 February 1912, he was the son of Percy Joseph Dunn Baldwin, the eldest of three brothers who carried on and built up the business that had been started by their father. Albert Baldwin was educated at St. Olave's and St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark and joined the family firm in 1936. Elected a member of the British Numismatic Society in 1938, he always took a keen interest in its work and was a regular attendant at its meetings, even in the last years of his life when ill-health had prompted his doctors to urge him to take things easier. But he was one of those men who have to live life to the full and it was all that his friends and colleagues could do to make him give up anything to which he himself attached importance.

That he contributed little to the Society's *Journal* is hardly surprising, because, as time went on, the management of the business fell increasingly on his shoulders and this can have left him little leisure for research. Where he made his great contribution to numismatics was in the help and encouragement he gave to others, and in particular to young collectors and students. In the post-war years there gradually developed a regular gathering on Saturday mornings, first in the charming Adam building in Robert Street, Adelphi, overlooking the Thames, and more recently in the gaunt building that stands on the site of the former Adelphi Terrace. At these gatherings, which came to be known informally as 'The Saturday Morning Club', friends met to discuss problems of mutual interest, to consult the firm's library, to look at (and even rarely to buy) coins. Rarely, because it was an unwritten rule of 'the club' that nobody was *expected* to buy on a Saturday—indeed it was rather a matter of surprise if anyone tried to do so.

The writer is indebted to Albert Baldwin for many kindnesses. He will be among many who will mourn him as a good and loyal friend, but there will be even more who will remember him as a man who carried on the best traditions of coin-dealing that have always been associated with his firm

C. E. B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1967

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-9	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. F. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till 20 February
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.—from 22 February
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951-4	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY.
1955-8	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1959-63	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1964-5	C. WILSON PECK, F.P.S., F.S.A.
1966-	C. S. S. LYON, M.A., F.I.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially 'to the member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the members as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science'.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.

1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON
1944	Not Awarded
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1953	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1956	F. ELMORE JONES
1959	R. H. M. DOLLEY, B.A., F.S.A.
1962	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1965	H. SCHNEIDER

(For Officers and Council for 1967 see Vol. XXXV, page 220)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, January 24th, Mr. Lyon, President in the Chair, Mr. H. P. De C. Lucy was elected to Ordinary Membership. Miss Archibald read a paper on the Canterbury half-groats of Edward IV.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, February 28th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, Mr. Beverley Curtis, Mr. Allan L. Masters, and Mr. John M. Willem were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Rigold read a paper entitled "The Arrangement of the early Anglo-Saxon (sceatta) coinage".

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, April 4th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, Mr. Donald H. Doswell, Mr. Joseph C. Elliott, Mr. J. Clarke Gelling, Mr. J. C. Gilmer, Mr. Edward S. Rothman, and Mr. W. B. M. Wyley were elected to Ordinary Membership. Michael John Stephen Vicary was elected to Junior Membership. Three short papers were read:— by Mr. Blunt on a parcel of coins from the 1894 Douglas find. A paper on the Emergency Mint of Wilton in 1180 by Mr. Brand and Mr. Elmore Jones was read by Mr. Brand. A paper on a continental imitation of David II's half-groat was read by Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, April 25th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, Dr. W. N. Mann was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. D. R. D. Edmunds read a paper entitled "Statistics on the early Nineteenth Century Silver Tokens, and the Lauderdale Circular of 1812".

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, May 23rd, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, Vice-President in the chair, the Library, University of Konstanz was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. D. R. Cooper read a paper entitled "Some Historical Notes on the Coining Press".

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, June 27th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, the Library, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A. was elected to Ordinary Membership. A paper on the coinage of Oliver Cromwell by Mr. Marvin Lessen was read by Mr. H. W. A. Linecar.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, September 26th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, John Douglas Burke, Sidney W. Harl, Desmond William Jones, Lorin L. Kay, Frederick John Rist, David Rogers, Peter George Smith, Thomas Stainton, and Brian John Warwick were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley read a paper entitled "Coinages of Ireland under the Georges".

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, October 24th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, John Allen, Ivan R. Buck, William J. Dunwoody, Louis F. Nicholson, Wilfred Arthur Seaby, F.S.A., Marian A. Sinton, Christopher Sirr, and Harley U. Taylor Jnr., were elected to Ordinary Membership. William B. Marcus was elected to Junior Membership. Mr. W. A. Seaby read a paper entitled "The Anglo-Irish coins in the Brussels hoard".

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, November 28th, Mr. Lyon, President in the chair, Mr. T. F. Hunter and Lady Stenton were elected to Ordinary Membership.

The following Officers were elected for 1968:

President: C. S. S. Lyon, M.A., F.I.A.

Vice-Presidents: D. F. Allen, C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday, H. H. King, M.A.; C. W. Peck, F.P.S., F.S.A.; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: B. H. I. H. Stewart, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Secretary: W. Slayter.

Treasurer: Clifford H. Allen, F.C.A.

Librarian: R. H. Thompson.

Council: Miss M. P. Bellamy, B.A.; J. D. Brand; D. W. Dykes, M.A.; N. J. Ebsworth; E. J. Harris, D.Sc.; R. N. P. Hawkins; J. Lavertine, M.D.; D. M. Metcalf, M.A., D.Phil.; H. R. Mossop, D.F.C.; Miss E. J. E. Pirie, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.; S. E. Rigold, M.A., F.S.A.; H. Schneider; R. J. Seaman; P. Woodhead.

Corresponding Member for Ireland: M. Dolley, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

Corresponding Member for the United States of America: H. Grunthal.

The President, Mr. Lyon delivered the Presidential Address.

EXHIBITIONS

November, 1966.

By Mr. F. Banks.

A penny of Alfred (*BMC* I) with the moneyer's name *LIAB* (Pl. I, 19). Coins with the full reading *LIABINC* are recorded in the Croydon hoard (*NCTS*, vi, p. 240) and in the Copenhagen *Sylloge*, no. 672, the latter believed to be from a Danish hoard. The reading *LIAB* does not appear to have been recorded hitherto.

By Mr. F. Elmore Jones.

1. A fifth specimen of the very rare variety of the Last Small Cross type of Ethelred II (*BMC* Type 1d, Hild. Type A var.e.) which forms the subject of the first of two notes in *BNJ* by Mr. C. S. S. Lyon on the last type of the reign. (*BNJ XXXI* (1963) pp. 49–51). Hitherto only four coins of this variety have been recorded, three being in Stockholm (Hild. Nos. 2421, 2577 and 2743) and the fourth being in Mr. Lyon's own collection (ex Ryan 827). All four are of the London mint, the moneyers being Eadwold, Godric, Leofwine and Saewine respectively.

This fifth coin, which has no recorded provenance, is also of the London mint but is by yet a fifth moneyer, namely Leofstan, a well-attested London moneyer in both the preceding and following issues. The readings are:—

obv. + ÆDELRE/DRE+A

rev. + L·IOFSTANMOLVNDE (Pl. I, 20)

The coin is "unpecked"; it is clearly of a fine standard of silver but its weight at only 13.3 grains is very light indeed, being a half grain lighter than Mr. Lyon's specimen. In his opinion this variety represents a search for a new type at the very end of Ethelred's reign and is probably datable to 1015 in which year a change of type should have been made.

- 2 and 3. Two pennies of the "Sovereign/Eagles" Type of Edward the Confessor (*BMC* Type IX) of the Shrewsbury moneyer God(e)sbrand. The reverse of No. 2 reads + GODSBRAND ON (Pl. I, 21). No. 3 is from the same reverse die but with the inscription altered and partially defaced. (Pl. I, 22). Presumably this alteration and the obliteration of the last part of the inscription must have been done at the mint but the purpose of it can hardly have been to conceal its source of origin since there is no mint signature on the die in its unaltered state. Possibly whoever may have been responsible for tampering with the die did not realise this! There can be no doubt that both these coins emanated from the Shrewsbury mint. Godesbrand is a well-attested moneyer there at this period (and at no other mint) and the attribution is supported by other coins of the same type with the SCRO mint signature.

January, 1967.

By Mr. Blunt.

Edward IV half-groats. Canterbury mint.

1. 1464-7 Archbishop Bouchier's mint. I.M. Pall/Rose. Large fleurs to tressure.
2. 1467-70 Royal mint. I.M. Rose, *obv.* and *rev.*
3. 1471-83 Royal mint. I.M. Rose, *obv.* and *rev.* C on breast.
4. 1471-83 Royal mint. I.M. Long cross fitchy/Cinquefoil.

Henry VII 1st. coinage (with open crown).

5. Groat I.M. Long cross fitchy (plugged).
6. Penny London (ex Walters, 1913, 495).
7. Halfpenny I.M. Half lis, half rose.

Edward IV 1471-83.

8. Fragment of a Canterbury penny, I.M. ? Apparently a pall to the left of the neck; a doubtful object (annulet?) to right. A curious and tantalizing fragment that came to light after Mr. Whitton and Mr. Blunt wrote on the coinage of this reign. If it is in fact an archiepiscopal coin, it is the only evidence of that mint being operated in Edward IV's second reign.

April 4th.

By Mr. Blunt.

Coins from the ? Douglas 1894 find.

1. Eadred. B.M.C. V Norbert. No mint.
2. Eadwig. B.M.C. I Leofhelm.

3. Eadgar. B.M.C. Ib Sedman. Crosses top and bottom on rev. in place of usual ∴.
4. Eadgar. B.M.C. III Exeter. Moneyer probably R(aegen)old. Note ∴ stops both sides.
5. Eadgar. B.M.C. III London. Moneyer Aethelwald.

For comparison.

6. Eadgar. B.M.C. III London. Moneyer Aethelred. (ex Lockett)

Note different style and lettering to the last. The only other London coin of this type (which is in Stockholm) has the lettering of No. 6.

On behalf of Mr. Elmore Jones.

7. Eadgar. B.M.C. III Buckingham. Mint unknown for reign. - F MONETABV.

By Mr. Lyon on behalf of Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin.

A "halfpenny" of Edward the Confessor, Sovereign/Eagles type. Chester mint. From same dies as coin illustrated in *B.N.J.* XXXIV. p. 42, but different die-axis.

April 25th.

By Mr. D. R. D. Edmunds.

- I. Seven 19th century silver tokens from the collection of Mr. Slayter.
- II. Photostat copies of Silver Notes and Shop Notes.
1 to 11 in Lauderdale's Appendix VI to his "Further Considerations . . ." (1813).
12 to 14 in the British Museum.

May.

By Mr. D. L. F. Sealy.

1. Copper Medal, 1801, of Carlos IV of Spain.
"J. P. Droz, inventor of a method of multiplying dies, eliminating fraud, delay and the expences of making the types identical. Coins have the edge and face struck at a single blow".
2. Silver ounce, Mexico, 1949. Showing a manually operated press.
3. Impressions of a Royal Mint trial die 1957. Showing Britannia striking coins by hammer.

September.

By Miss Archibald, on behalf of Mr. Dave Hess.

A *Pax* penny of William I, Shrewsbury mint, moneyer Godesbrand.

Struck over a type VII coin of the same moneyer and mint.

By Mr. Peck on behalf of Mr. W. J. Noble.

"This photograph of an 1882 penny without the Heaton mint mark (H below date) was sent to me by Mr. W. J. Noble of New South Wales some weeks before he published the coin in Spink's *N.C.* Sept. 1967, page 237. It completely disproves my belief that all pennies were struck by Heaton.

The owner describes the coin as being in F.D.C. condition, though not a proof. The dies are Obv. 7 + Rev. N, and as this pair of dies was not used for currency until 1883, I believe this piece to be in the nature of a trial striking in preparation for the following year's issue. It is significant that bronze proofs with the die-pairings 6* + M and 8 + N exist for 1881 but no coins from these die-pairings were issued for currency, so far as I know."

October.

By Miss Archibald.

A penny of the Vikings of Northumbria, found in excavations at St. Alkmund's, Derby.

Obv. (+M)IRSILI FECIT (S reversed)

Rev. DNS DS (First S reversed)

Cross with pellet in each angle

Cross with large pellet in centre followed by REX

Weight 19.3 grs. Die axis ↑ ↑

By H. A. Mossop and Frank Purvey.

An Æ. coin recently found on the Ancient British and Roman site of Kirmington in Lincolnshire.

By Mr. W. Slayter.

Private tokens issued by the numismatist Samuel Hamer, of Halifax, in 1900, 1901 and 1915.

1. Bell No. 5.
2. A mule of the obverse of Bell No. 6 and the reverse of Bell No. 7.
3. Bell No. 9, struck in aluminium.

November.

By C. S. S. Lyon.

Northumbrian 'pence' (stycas etc.).

1. Eadberht ex Lockett
2. Aelfwald I ex Lord St. Oswald.
3. Eanred, early coinage.
4. Eanred
5. Aethelred II } the Aethelred coin from altered dies of the Eanred coin.
6. Aethelred II 'Animal' type of Leothegn (first reign of Aethelred).
7. Aethelred II
8. Redwulf } from same die of moneyer Alghere.
9. Aethelred II, (2nd reign), moneyers Ethelhelm and Eardwulf, same obv. die.
10. Osberht, moneyer Eanwulf
11. Abp. Eanbald II, moneyer Eadwulf.
12. Abp. Wigmund, moneyer Ethilweard.
13. Abp. Wulfhere, moneyer Wulfred.

ADDRESS BY STEWART LYON
PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 28th November, 1967

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS OF ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE—(1)

*'And even I can remember
A day when the historians left blanks in their writings,
I mean for things they didn't know'.*

—EZRA POUND, *Cantos*, XIII.

I

It is with some trepidation that I begin an Address on a theme which I hope to continue next year. What I am seeking to do is to review some of the areas of Anglo-Saxon coinage where the numismatist has the potential ability to add materially to the other sources available to the historian. I say 'potential' because I think we numismatists are prone to regard the problems of interpretation of the evidence of the coins as being capable of less sophisticated treatment than they really need. We are inclined to be too dogmatic, and too ready to take as proved a hypothesis which is insufficiently tested.

I intend to probe some of these areas more deeply than is customary in addresses of this kind and to discuss the strength of accepted numismatic theories where these could influence a historian's interpretation of such documents as might corroborate or contradict them or could help him to fill the 'blanks in their writings'. I do not plan to offer fully worked out alternatives to those theories, for these should properly be the subject of individual papers, but I shall indicate the directions in which I think the accepted views might be modified by further detailed research. I hope that I shall offend no one in the process, nor appear presumptuous, and perhaps it is as well that I should begin tonight by considering the earliest coinages to be signed systematically as a testimony to their royal authority, one of which is that of the kingdom of Northumbria.

By way of preface, however, I should like to declare my support for Mr. Grierson's view that the unsigned silver coins of the early eighth century should be known as pennies. It seems a pity to continue calling them *sceattas* or, worse still, *sceats* in the face of the evidence he has produced. The term *styca* for the ninth-century Northumbrian coinage, mainly of copper, seems to have no better foundation and it would appear likely that these coins too were known as pence although no doubt a Northumbrian copper penny was worth far less than a Kentish or Mercian silver one.

II

It seems unlikely that in Northumbria there was a signed coinage before the reign of Eadberht (737–758). From this reign we have a series of attractive coins struck on flans of the same size as were used for the early southern pennies. Eadberht's pence—for such we can presume they were—bear on the obverse the king's name, generally as EOTBERHTUS, without

title, and on the reverse an animal with one front leg raised and a long tail sprouting from somewhere near the middle of its back. Another series has on the reverse a standing figure holding two crosses, beside an inscription such as *ECGBERHT A*. This *Ecgberht* was *Eadberht's* brother and held the See of York from 734 to 767.

The coins of *Eadberht*, whether in his own right or jointly with the archbishop, are rare but they are by no means as rare as those of his successors. We know none of *Oswulf*, who reigned for no more than a year or so, and one only (or possibly two) bearing the name of *Æthelwald 'Moll'* (759–765). This is, in fact, a penny of archbishop *Ecgberht*. It bears a small cross on each side and was probably struck late in *Æthelwald's* reign, for it closely resembles the coins which the archbishop issued under king *Alchred* (765–774). In my paper in the 1956 *Journal*, which is the latest to have dealt with this series,¹ I brushed aside the traditional attribution of this coin to the reign of *Æthelwald* and assigned it to *Alchred's* but an examination of the photographs in the *Grantley* and, more particularly, the *Rashleigh* sale catalogues has convinced me that I was wrong.²

It is difficult to understand why we have only one coin from *Æthelwald's* reign against probably seventeen from *Alchred's*. Twelve of these are in the king's name alone and have the animal reverse. The other five are also in the name of archbishop *Ecgberht*. This too is surprising, for *Ecgberht* appears to have died within two years of *Alchred's* accession and we know of no coins of his successor, *Æthelberht* (767–780).

Alchred was succeeded in 774 by *Æthelred I*, who ruled for five years before being expelled but was restored ten years later. There is only one coin known of *Æthelred* with the animal reverse: it was found near *Hull* and was first published by *Grantley*. Stylistically it ought not to be from his first reign, but there is some reason to believe that the animal sequence ended in the reign of *Ælfwald I* (779–788), before *Æthelred's* restoration, as we have seven pence of *Ælfwald* with the animal reverse, and two with a small cross on the reverse and the name *Cuthbert* (as *CVDBEVRT*). *Grantley* knew only one of these latter pieces and that in rather poor condition, and partly because he thought he could read an *s* at the beginning of the reverse legend he regarded the coin as struck in memory of *St. Cuthbert*. He also put into the same category, and ascribed to *Æthelred I's* restoration, two pence reading *EDLRED*

¹ 'A reappraisal of the sceatta and styca coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* XXVIII (1956) p. 227.

² A brief corpus of the recorded eighth-century coins, post-*Eadberht*, is as follows:

Alchred, animal reverse: (1) *BMC* 13, from Jarrow churchyard? (2) *BMC* 14 ex Tyssen; (3) *BMC* 15 ex Cureton; (4) *BM* Barnett 514; (5) *BM* Barnett 515; (6) *Creeke* ex *Montagu* 383 ex *Brice*; (7) *Fitzwilliam* Sylloge 266 ex *Lockett* 286; (8) *Lockett* 287 ex *Bascom* ex *Rashleigh* 132; (9) *Grantley* 765 ex *Wakefield* (1919) 203; (10) *Copenhagen* Sylloge 182 ex *Bruun* 4 ex *Carlyon-Britton* 181; (11) *Newcastle* ex *Gibson*; (12) *Seaby's Bulletin*, Sept. 1963, H. 1808 (illustrated there on Plate 58).

Æthelred I, animal reverse: (1) *Grantley* 766 ex *Robinson* (1891), found at *Hornsea*, near *Hull*, in 1875.

Ælfwald I, animal reverse: (1) *BMC* 16 ex *Spurrier*; (2) *Hunterian* Sylloge 139; (3) *Lockett* 288 ex *Bascom* ex *Rashleigh* 134 ex *Cuff* 354; (4) *Lockett* 289 ex *Grantley* 769 ex *Grantham* 10; (5) *Copenhagen* Sylloge 183 ex *Bruun* 5 ex *Rashleigh* 133 ex *Brummel* (1850) 11, from same reverse die as (3); (6) *Lyon* ex *Lord St.*

Oswald; (7) *Whitby* excavations, no. 7.

Ælfwald I, *CVDBEVRT* reverse: (1) *Grantley* 768 ex *Bateman*; (2) *Yorkshire Museum*, illustrated in *BNJ* XXVIII, Pl. XVIII, 7.

Æthelred I, restored?, reverse cross on triangle: (1) *Grantley* 767, ex *Evans*; (2) *Bruun* ex *Rashleigh* 141a ex *Rich* ex *Loscombe* 1046. (Possibly coins with reverse *CEOLBALD* and *EANBALD* also belong to this reign, but I have reservations about this.)

Ealdfrith (of *Lindsey*), animal reverse: (1) *BMC* 3 ex *Cuff*; (2) *BM* ex *Grantley* 758 ex *Rashleigh* 126 ex *Loscombe* 1045; (3) and (4) *BM* ex *Whitby* excavations, no. 847 (rev. = (1)) and no. 1.

Archbishop Ecgberht, under *Æthelwald Moll*: (1) *Grantley* 798 ex *Rashleigh* 131; (2) *NC N.S. IX*, Pl. 1, 1a, but whereabouts unknown.

Archbishop Ecgberht, under *Alchred*: (1) *BM* Barnett 575; (2) *BM* no number, purchased 1858; (3) *Copenhagen* Sylloge 398 ex *Bruun* 87; (4) *Grantley* 799, presumably the coin ex *Grantham* illustrated in *NC* 1897, Pl. VII, 2 of which the *Ecgberht* die = (1); (5) *Grantley* 800 ex *Bateman* 245. (Note that in the *Grantley* sale catalogue the provenances of 799 and 800 are transposed).

which have for their reverse design a cross standing on a triangle.¹ This design breaks an inscription which, on his own specimen, he read as SZCICVD and interpreted as representing *Sepulchrum Sancti Cuthberhti*. Now it seems clear to me that the letters appearing on these two coins are CVD/CLS/ and CVD/CLLS/ respectively, and although on these early Northumbrian pence one cannot pay too much regard to the order of the letters I am unable to obtain Grantley's reading. I accept that the design probably has religious significance but I am very dubious about the intention to commemorate St. Cuthbert on any of these four coins of Ælfwald and Æthelred. Of Osred (788-9) no coins at all are known.

In this cursory review of the pre-ninth century Northumbrian coinage I have not so far mentioned coins in the names of 'Ecgrith' and 'Aldfridus'. I am quite sure in my own mind that the four 'Aldfridus' pieces, which have a very crude variation of the animal reverse, are contemporary with those we have been discussing. Not only do they appear to be imitations rather than prototypes, but also two of them were found in the Whitby excavations. An attribution to the seventh-century king Ealdfrith of Northumbria is, I think, impossible. The only alternative seems to be Ealdfrith, the last king of Lindsey, who flourished c. 790. The Ecgrith coins from Heworth churchyard were all from the same pair of dies. If they are genuine it is more difficult to find an alternative attribution than the obvious one of the seventh-century Northumbrian king, but they are to be the subject of a paper by Mr. Pagan, and I will say no more about them today.

What happened to the Northumbrian coinage after 796? That there was a break seems certain. It is otherwise impossible to explain the absence from both the Hexham hoard and, more significantly, the Whitby excavations of any coins which can properly be attributed to Eardwulf, who appears to have held the throne for most of the period from 796 to 810. When minting began again during the reign of Eanred it is curious that the small module should have been retained in complete disregard of developments in southern England.

For the study of the ninth century Northumbrian coinage there is an embarrassing wealth of numismatic material but a dearth of documentary evidence against which to appraise it. Most of the hoards date from the end of the period, and one naturally looks to the disturbed state of the kingdom in the years before the Viking victory of 867—or even to the campaign which led up to that victory—as the occasion for the deposits. Fortunately the huge hoard from Hexham was put to ground considerably earlier and is crucial for the chronology of the series, partly because it included the base silver coinage of Eanred and archbishop Eanbald, which was almost entirely absent from the later hoards, and partly because it contained no coins of Osberht or of archbishop Wulfhere, nor any of the late derivative issues several of which used to be ascribed to the kings immediately before Eanred. The Hexham hoard must have been buried early in the second reign of Æthelred II, for there was a handful of coins of the moneyer Eardwulf who was not a moneyer of the usurper Redwulf but of whom a prolific series of coins running up to the accession of Osberht is found in the other hoards.

The general pattern that emerges from the numismatic evidence is that archbishop Eanbald was minting base silver coins at the same time as king Eanred; that Eanbald's successor Wulfsig struck no coins; that Wigmund succeeded to the See of York while Eanred still reigned but had completed his coinage by early in Æthelred's second reign at the latest since it is fully represented in the Hexham hoard; that Wulfhere succeeded Wigmund as archbishop during that reign but after the deposition of the Hexham hoard; and that the official coinage did not long outlast Osberht's accession to the Northumbrian throne. The documents

¹ 'Saint Cuthbert's pennies', *BNJ* VIII (1911), p. 49.

appear however to be at variance with this interpretation. Roger of Wendover says that Wigmund became archbishop in 831 and Wulfhere succeeded him in 854. Symeon of Durham gives 854 as the year in which Wulfhere received the pallium and was confirmed in his archbishopric and says it was in the reign of king Osberht. The implication is that he was appointed earlier. Symeon also says that Wigmund was archbishop for between 15 and 16 years. Both Roger and Symeon appear to have drawn their information from regnal lists which could at some stage have been miscopied. Can we suppose that the original sources really implied the dating of Wulfhere's accession to between 844 when Roger would have Æthelred II driven out temporarily by Redwulf, and 848 when Roger would have the restored Æthelred finally killed after a reign of seven years? Professor Dorothy Whitelock, in correspondence, has ruled this out because there is a letter extant which was written to Wigmund by Lupus of Ferrières and which cannot be dated earlier than 849.

Alternatively, should we accept that Wigmund in fact became archbishop in, say, 837/8 and died in 853/4, but contend that Æthelred lived until at least 854 and Eanred until 846? As a third possibility should we look towards a date much nearer to 867 for Osberht's accession and the rapid disintegration of the coinage, with Eanred occupying the throne until 850 or even later and the dates of the archbishops being wrongly stated also? This last alternative would seem, on the numismatic evidence, to require archbishop Eanbald, who succeeded in 796, to have survived until at least 840. On the other hand it would have the attraction of enabling the Trehiddle penny in the name of a king Eanred, which can scarcely be dated earlier than 850, to be regarded once again as having been struck for, or in honour of, Eanred of Northumbria.

A detailed examination of Eanred's coinage might throw some new light on the whole problem, and I am happy to say that Mr. Pagan is currently engaged in this. I hope he will not close his mind to the possibility of more than one mint having been in operation at that time, for this might explain the rarity of coins of Eanred and Æthelred of certain moneyers, notably Cuthheard, Tidwine and Tidwulf, who do not fit into the general pattern of die-linking, and the lack of any such linking between Osberht's moneyer Winiberht and the other moneyers of that reign.

III

That in southern England the early unsigned pennies gave way to a coinage bearing the stamp of royal authority during the reign of king Offa of Mercia is not a matter for dispute. Exactly when this happened and who was responsible for it are, however, still open to question. The starting point for any discussion of Offa's coinage must be the corpus published by Mr. Blunt in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, which represented the culmination of many years of thorough and painstaking work. In his paper 'The Coinage of Offa', Mr. Blunt essentially divides the coinage into two distinct periods. The first covers the issues of kings Ecgerht and Heaberht of Kent, and of archbishop Jaenberht of Canterbury under Offa, as well as those coins of Offa himself that were struck on relatively small flans and to a weight standard which was probably intended to be 20 grains—namely Mr. Blunt's Groups I and II. The second period, during which larger flans were used and the coins were struck to a weight standard perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ grains higher (i.e. Mr. Blunt's Group III), is dominated by the three-line type of Offa but also includes a group of coins issued by archbishop Æthelheard under Offa's temporal sovereignty. The transition has been dated convincingly by Mr. Blunt to approximately

the year 792 on the grounds that archbishop Jaenberht died in that year and did not strike coins bearing Offa's three-line obverse. What, though, of the beginning of the series?

I must confess that I have serious reservations about the chronology of the coinage of the first period. I have never found it easy to believe that this highly original series was instituted by the minor Kentish kings Ecgberht and Heaberht. I will therefore with great diffidence venture to advance some numismatic arguments in favour of the dozen known coins of these kings having been struck quite late in what I shall refer to as Period (A) rather than at its beginning. These are based on stylistic evolution, supported by the sequence of moneyers.

Period (A) includes the finely conceived portraits and a range of non-portrait designs of comparable artistic standard, most of which fall within Mr. Blunt's Group II. There is also, however, a group of coins, roughly corresponding to his Group I, where the delicacy of design, epigraphy and engraving is lacking and where the stylistic affinities are with the coinage of Period (B). I think that the sequence of moneyers confirms that these two groups are consecutive rather than concurrent, but in the reverse order from that suggested by Mr. Blunt, and that it is possible to detect the point at which the change of style—and presumably also of engraver—occurs.¹ For instance, the moneyer Osmod may well have begun work at just this time, in which case the Ashmolean coin which illustrates Blunt no. 19 must have been one of his earliest. The obverse is from a worn die of what, for want of a better name, I will call the 'quadrant' group in which the legend is divided into +O/FF/AR/EX/. The obverse lettering is small and neat, and the whole design is closely comparable with that on coins of the same group by the moneyers Ealred, who is not found in Period (B), and Eoba, who is. But there is another example of the Osmod coin in the Fitzwilliam Sylloge (no. 393), and in this case the obverse lettering and engraving are much coarser. Now Osmod is otherwise only known from two coins of Period (B) of the 'three-line' type and another which is transitional between the two periods, and I think it is reasonable to suppose that he began minting late in Period (A).

Another 'quadrant' obverse with coarse lettering similar to that of the second Osmod example is found on Blunt no. 20 of a moneyer whose name is spelt as Udd. This obverse has the first letter of the king's name in the form of a diamond. While this does occur on some of the neatest portrait coins it is also found, I think invariably, on coins of the 'three-line' type. Another coin of the same moneyer, Blunt no. 33, has a very crude portrait which may mark the new engraver's only attempt to emulate the outstanding work of his predecessor. 'Udd' is not found as a moneyer of Period (B), but if he is synonymous with Dud he worked virtually throughout Period (A). Now 'Udd' shares with Eoba and Babba the distinction of having been a moneyer of king Ecgberht of Kent, and Eoba was also the moneyer of the only known coin of his associate, king Heaberht. Eoba's reverses for his coins of the Kentish kings are evidently from the same period in time as those on his 'quadrant' coins of Offa. Babba also struck coins of this 'quadrant' group, though of slightly different design, but is otherwise only known in Period (B) of Offa and subsequently as a moneyer of Eadberht Praen and of Coenwulf.

¹ It seems to me to be unrealistic to postulate, as does Dr. D. M. Metcalf in 'Offa's Pence Reconsidered' (*Cunobelin*, 1963, p. 48), that 'each moneyer was responsible for the provision of his own dies, but that there was some joint enterprise where it proved necessary or convenient.' The consistently high level of engraving of the dies for the

portrait and associated non-portrait coins of Blunt Group II was never again to be reproduced. When taken with the many stylistic affinities between coins of different moneyers, it suggests instead perhaps two engravers covering all the moneyers outside East Anglia during this stage of the coinage.

The evidence for a stylistic deterioration towards the end of Period (A) is to my mind clearly illustrated by the coins of the moneyer Ealhmund, who is not known as a moneyer of the Kentish kings but otherwise runs throughout the coinage. His coin illustrated by Mr. Blunt in Group I can surely not have been struck long before his 'three-line' coin in Group III.¹

I would therefore suggest that the coinage of Ecgberht and Heaberht should be placed late rather than early in Period (A). Archbishop Jaenberht's also appears to be late in the same period: it is almost entirely associated with obverses of Offa of the 'two-line' type, nearly all of which, in Jaenberht's case, have the diamond o and lettering of the style of the 'three-line' type of Period (B). It may be significant that the archbishop's title is, I think invariably, spelt $\widehat{AR}_XEP$ or $\widehat{AR}_XP$, in parallel with the central design $\widehat{R}_X$ on the coins of the Kentish kings. Where, then, I would seek to modify Mr. Blunt's classification is to put most of the coins of his Group II at the head of the series—that is to say, the coins of the highest artistic merit—and to follow these with the coins of his Group I and those of the Kentish kings, together with the 'two-line' type. I would not pretend at this stage to have any ideas on chronology within these two re-groupings. It can perhaps be said in defence of this suggested arrangement that it would restore to Offa the credit for the introduction of a coinage which at its inception was of the highest quality of design and engraving and was also in the same tradition as the unsigned coinage that went before it. Also, the placing of the moneyer's name sometimes on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse of the portrait coins suggests that this was an experimental phase of the coinage and therefore more likely to be early than late. But how would any such arrangement fit in with the documentary evidence?

We have first to look back to the battle of Otford, fought in 776 between the Mercians and the Kentishmen. Sir Frank Stenton challenged the assumption that this resulted in victory for Mercia and thought it significant that Offa cannot be shown to have possessed any authority in Kent during the next ten years. If Stenton was right in his inference, Offa could not have been in any position to begin or to continue a coinage in his own name in Kent between 776 and, say, 785. In that case, ignoring for a moment the numismatic evidence, there are four possible hypotheses. Firstly, Offa might have begun the coinage before 776 but lost control of the Kentish mint or mints for some years after that date, during which period Ecgberht and Heaberht struck their coins. Secondly, Offa could have initiated the coinage at London during those years and Ecgberht and Heaberht could have imitated it at Canterbury. Thirdly, Offa might have started minting after he recovered Kent and then at a later date permitted Ecgberht and Heaberht to strike coins in their own names—assuming, that is, that they were still sub-kings as late as, say, 785. Lastly Ecgberht and Heaberht could have begun the coinage at some time after the battle of Otford and Offa could have taken it over when he recovered Kent: this is essentially Mr. Blunt's standpoint.

I have explained why I do not think that the evidence of the coins fits the fourth hypothesis very well. Nor does it fit the first any more satisfactorily if Ecgberht and Heaberht had control of the Canterbury mint for any length of time, for the scarcity of their coins, taken in conjunction with the relative abundance of those of one of their moneyers, Eoba,

¹ I cannot support Dr. Metcalf's assertion (art. cit. p. 41) that, despite the existence of coins reading Ealhmund, the spellings Alhmund and Ealhmund are to be interpreted as representing different moneyers. (On the other hand Eoba may well not be synonymous with Coenwulf's and Cuthred's

moneyer Eaba.) And I think that Blunt no. 8 is to be read, not as Dr. Metcalf reads it (viz $\widehat{OFR}_XA$ for *Anglorum vice OFR}_XM* for *Merciorum*) but as $\widehat{O-}$ (F implied) $\widehat{FAR}_X$.

for Offa and Cynethryth, would seem to rule out a long break with Offa at the Kentish mint in the middle of his coinage. The second hypothesis accords no better with the evidence of the moneyer Eoba. The third would seem to be at variance with Stenton's statement that ten years after the battle of Otford Offa 'was on the worst of terms with the Kentish people',¹ although if, as I think it must, archbishop Jaenberht's coinage dates from the last years of his life one cannot necessarily associate personal enmity with denial of the right of coinage. A further point which is perhaps in favour of the third hypothesis is, as I have mentioned, the use of the contraction $\widehat{R}_x$ both by the Kentish kings to denote *rex* and by Jaenberht in his title as a contraction of *-rchi*, so that these series of coins may be virtually contemporary with one another. On the other hand, so far as I am aware, we have no evidence of Ecgbert's existence after about 780, nor—curiously—Heaberht's after 765.² Thus none of the first three hypotheses is really satisfactory, but this does not make me any happier about the validity of the fourth.

So here we again have a situation in which it is difficult to reconcile fully the historical and the numismatic evidence. If only we could have a new hoard from early in the coinage! In the absence of this, or of any other means of establishing the time scale of the coinage of Period (A), we need, I think, to see whether the recent apportionment of Coenwulf's moneyers between the mints of Canterbury and London can be carried back into Offa's reign beyond the 'three-line' type.³ We should bear in mind that London was a mint for the early eighth century coinage, and that there must have been some reminting of that coinage when the signed coinage began. Nor should we lose sight of Sir Frank Stenton's conviction, expressed very firmly in a lecture to this Society in 1958 at its first meeting in this building, that the coinage was begun by Offa as early as 764. Stenton believed that he introduced it then, when he was first in a position to exercise authority in Kent, as a demonstration of his royal descent in contrast to the non-royal lineage of his Frankish contemporary Charlemagne. However, the evidence of the moneyers Ealhmund and Eoba, who seem to have worked throughout Period (A) (whether on Mr. Blunt's chronology or mine) and who were still at work in Period (B), must cast doubt on the possibility of a duration as long as 28 years for Period (A). If nevertheless Stenton proved to be right in this I do not think the evidence of the coins could then sustain his inference that Offa had no authority in Kent for an extended period after 776.

Finally, if any of my arguments for a review of the numismatic evidence are held to be valid, let us not forget that whatever new conclusions we may reach the credit will remain Mr. Blunt's for making it possible to discuss the subject in what I hope will always be a constructive way.⁴

¹ *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edition, p. 206.

² Nor is it easy to envisage Ecgbert and Heaberht—if they were both then ruling in Kent—being granted the right of coinage by Offa in the 780's if they had defeated him at Otford in 776.

³ In 'The Coinage of Southern England, 796–840' (*BNJ* XXXII (1963) p. 7) Offa's moneyer Ludoman is given to London and the mint of three others, Ciolhard, Eama and Ibba, is regarded as undetermined. Despite the close stylistic affinity between portrait coins of Ibba and Eoba (and, for that matter, Eadhun, Ealred and certain coins of Ealhmund, Dud and Lulla), Eoba must surely have

been a Kentish moneyer since he worked for Ecgbert and Heaberht. Admittedly it is not easy to explain why a Kentish rather than a Mercian mint (if there was one) should have issued a series of coins in the name of Offa's queen, but this seems to me less unlikely than the alternatives, viz that the coins of the Kentish kings were struck at a Mercian mint or that there were two moneyers named Eoba.

⁴ I have taken the liberty of altering the wording of this section of my Address in a few places so as to try to make my meaning clear beyond all doubt. These alterations in no way alter the sense of the Address as delivered.

THE PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF THE YEAR

IN purely numerical terms we have had a mildly encouraging year. We have elected 31 ordinary and two junior members and one institutional member, a total of 34, but we have lost 24 by resignation, amoval and death. Against a background of a rapid increase in interest in coins in this country the rate of increase of membership is however disappointing, the more so if it is borne in mind that a high proportion of our new members live in North America. Steps evidently still need to be taken to ensure that our work is known as widely as possible among all those interested in the coinages of the English-speaking world, whether as students or as collectors.

Our losses by death this year have been exceptionally heavy. Mr. Jan, who specialised in 18th century tokens, passed away after a long illness. Dr. Robinson, of Sunderland, had been a member for 21 years. Dr. Burstal was a vice-president until his resignation from the Council only last year. But as if these were not enough, we have lost our Honorary Member, Sir Frank Stenton, and our old friend Albert Baldwin. Sir Frank, as well as being the most eminent Anglo-Saxon historian of the century, had a lifelong interest in the coins of that period. He was largely instrumental in the launching of the S.C.B.I. project. To Albert Baldwin many of us owe our interest in coins. He always encouraged the young collector and the student and his passing marks the end of a numismatic era.

Mr. Stewart arranged a varied programme for the year. I would mention in particular Mr. Rigold's paper on the early Anglo-Saxon pennies, still commonly called *sceattas*, and I am looking forward to seeing this in print, for it represents a great advance on previous studies of this series. Mr. Linecar read to us an important paper by one of our American members, Mr. Marvin Lessen, on the coinage of Oliver Cromwell: this has been published in the 1966 *Journal*. Mr. Dolley demonstrated his versatility by giving us an account of the coinages of Ireland under the Georges, and Mr. Edmunds read a paper on nineteenth century silver tokens. Mr. W. A. Seaby had analysed the Anglo-Irish coins in the Brussels hoard and was able to add a good deal to our knowledge of the average output of coin from a die in the 13th century. I was sorry to have to miss the paper by Mr. D. R. Cooper on the coining press, which preceded the Council's sherry party.

Since my last Review two volumes of the *Journal* have been published. Any member who may have been disappointed by the number of short papers in the 1965 volume—although it did contain detailed accounts of the mints of Buckingham and Warwick in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times—must have been satisfied by the content of the 1966 volume, with its comprehensive paper on Stephen and the anarchy by Commander Mack. This paper is very fully illustrated and it would be ungracious of me not to mention the generous contribution which its author made towards the cost of the plates. We are grateful, also, to the British Academy for its annual donation towards the cost of the *Journal*.

Mr. Dolley and Mr. Blunt visited Stockholm this year before going on to the International Numismatic Congress in Copenhagen, where they were joined by our Librarian. While in Stockholm Mr. Dolley undertook the task of listing one of the largest hoards, from the point of view of its Anglo-Saxon content, ever to come out of Gotland. A paper on this new hoard will appear in the next volume of *BNJ*. At the very end of his stay a further hoard was discovered in Gotland, with probably the latest known date of deposit for a Viking-age hoard

from that island, for it contained an appreciable number of Norman coins down as far as Henry I. Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley were able to record and photograph these coins, which will be published in the sylloge of Norman coins in the Royal Swedish Collection currently being prepared by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Elmore Jones with other helpers.

In connection with the Copenhagen congress I must mention the important contribution made by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Pagan to the *Survey of Numismatic Research 1960-1965*, published by the International Numismatic Commission. This is by way of what Mr. Dolley describes as a 'more or less critical and descriptive bibliography . . . intended generally to embrace those books, monographs and papers which have appeared between 1st January 1960 and 31st December 1966' and which relate to the coinages of Great Britain and Ireland. It will be most useful for reference by students of these series.

I referred last year to the exceptional hoard of gold coins found near Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire, in March 1966. This has now become known as the Fishpool hoard, and Miss Archibald's account of it, which had to be deferred from this session, will be read to us in February. It seemed to me that a useful purpose might in fact be served if I initiated a practice of recording briefly in the Presidential Address all the hoards of coins—other than strictly Roman finds—which had come to light in the United Kingdom during the preceding twelve months. I am grateful to Miss Archibald for providing me with a list of those found in England since November 1966 and I hope to obtain details of those unearthed in other parts of the kingdom for inclusion in next year's Review. In the meantime the English hoards are as follows:

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---|
| January 1967 | Hucknall, Notts. | Nine Victorian gold coins: only four recovered. |
| March | „ Skegby, Notts. | 450 pence down to Class IV of Edward I. Some Scottish and Irish included. Found, curiously enough, by a man called Halfpenny. |
| June | „ Coventry. | 225 groats, half-groats and pence down to the pre-Treaty coinage of Edward III. |
| October | „ Wyre Piddle, Worcs. | 219 groats, half-groats and pence, apparently of the 15th century. |
| | „ Southampton. | A roll of 21 continental deniers of the 11th century, found during the excavation of a medieval rubbish pit. |

Of single finds it is worth recalling the penny of the Northumbrian Vikings, obverse type *Mirabilia Fecit*, reverse type *Dominus Deus Omnipotens Rex*, found in recent excavations at St. Alkmund's, Derby. A cast of this coin was exhibited by Miss Archibald at our last meeting and it appears that the dies may not be represented on any of the Cuerdale coins of similar combination of types.

A survey of hoards and finds would be incomplete without some reference to the 1,500 gold and silver coins which divers have brought up this year from the sea bed off the Isles of Scilly. This appears to be part of the treasure which was being carried home by Admiral Sir Cloudisley Shovell's flagship *Association* when it was wrecked in October 1707. No doubt more of it will be found in future years and it is to be hoped that the Receiver of Wrecks will ensure that the coins are properly recorded before they are dispersed.

In closing this Review I should like to pay tribute to the officers. Miss Marion Archibald is retiring as Treasurer, a post she has filled more than adequately for the past four years. Under her guidance our financial position has improved considerably. Perhaps the most heartbreaking task any Treasurer has is to remind members, not once but often two or three

times, that their subscriptions are overdue. I would like to think that those who still do not pay by banker's order will always have regard to the waste of a skilled person's time that dilatoriness causes—or better still, complete a banker's order. Miss Archibald has asked to be relieved from service on the Council for the time being, though we hope to see her back again before long. If you elect him tonight Mr. Clifford Allen will take her place as Treasurer.

The Editors deserve our congratulations for producing the two volumes of *BNJ* to which I have already referred. Their task is time consuming and brings with it a heavy responsibility for the maintenance of the high standard which our *Journal* has achieved. They carry it out quietly and efficiently and we are most grateful to them. The Director and the Librarian have both given valuable service to the Society throughout the year, though it is on the Secretary that the heaviest burden undoubtedly falls. Wilfrid Slayter has filled this post admirably for a number of years: one tends to think that presidents come and presidents go but Slayter goes on for ever. During this year he has, however, had more than his fair share of problems and there is no doubt, either, that the growth of interest in coin collecting in this country—I will not say numismatics—has placed an additional burden on him by way of miscellaneous correspondence. I think that the new Council will have to examine ways and means of taking some of the load off the Secretary's shoulders.

Commander Mack and Mr. Weibel are retiring from the Council in addition to Miss Archibald. They have rendered us good service and I thank them for it. Unlike our sister Society we have no system of retirement by rotation, though there is much to be said for such a scheme. The outgoing Council thought that a similar result might be achieved in practice if the programme cards were to indicate the length of continuous service of each Council member, and the new cards will include this information. At a later stage we might consider an amendment to the bye-laws.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1966

31.10.65			31.10.65		
£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
4 Subscriptions received in advance		7 7 0	Investments at cost		
9 Subscriptions compounded		6 18 0	£900 0s. 0d. 4½% Defence Bonds	900 0 0	
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding			£500 0s. 0d. 2½% Savings Bonds	426 13 3	
72 Charges		99 5 0	1,327		1,326 13 3
J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund			J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund		
200 Capital Account		200 0 0	200 £200 0s. 0d. 4½% Defence Bonds		200 0 0
2,506 Publications Fund		2,861 16 3	152 Library at cost		151 12 5
General Purposes Fund			10 Furniture at cost		10 7 6
Balance as at 31st October, 1965	539 19 3		Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
Add Excess of Income over			87 Bank Current Account	324 14 6	
540 Expenditure for the year	66 14 7		1,159 Bank Deposit Account	1,362 6 4	
		606 13 10	396 Post Office Savings Bank	406 6 1	
					2,093 6 11
<u>£3,331</u>		<u>£3,782 0 1</u>	<u>£3,331</u>		<u>£3,782 0 1</u>

Expenditure and Income Account for the Year ended 31 October 1966

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
1964/65				1964/65			
£		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
17	Printing and Stationery		14 3 6	1,311	Subscriptions received for 1966	1,196 3 5	
	Expenses of Meetings, Rent and				Subscriptions in arrear received		
21	Library Facilities		21 0 0	116	during year	97 18 5	
43	Sundry Expenses		81 14 3	27	Entrance Fees		1,294 1 10
	Journal Expenses less Donations for			44	Donations		20 16 3
	Printing Plates but including pro-			94	Interest received		28 15 11
	vision of £1,100 for 1966 Journal	1,879 12 1		20	Sale of back Volumes and Duplicates		125 16 7
	Less Grant from British Academy	100 0 0		10	Buxton Prize Money		164 18 10
1,431			1,779 12 1	—	Income Tax recovered		10 0 0
10	Buxton Prize		10 0 0				354 15 0
—	Sanford Saltus Medal		26 0 0				
	Excess of Income over Expenditure						
100	carried to General Purposes Fund		66 14 7				
£1,622			£1,999 4 5	£1,622			£1,999 4 5

Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

WE have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October, 1966, and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of income over expenditure for the year ended on that date.

108A, Cannon Street
LONDON, E.C.4.
24th January, 1967

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON
Chartered Accountants.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

31 OCTOBER 1968

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR
HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAV VI OF SWEDEN

MEMBERS

* Honorary Members

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